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A Bolshevik Blow at the Fascist Warmongers

AT A time when the great land of socialism rises before the peoples of the world in all the majesty of the Stalin Constitution, when the Soviet Union stands like a rock of granite on guard over the peace of the peoples, when the entire country is filled with the boundless devotion of its one hundred and seventy million people to the cause of socialism, a despicable handful of traitors to their socialist fatherland, by order of the mortal enemies of the U.S.S.R., have tried to plunge a knife into the back of a great people.

Who are these creatures? Who directed their criminal hand?

The organs of the proletarian dictatorship have exposed them to the full. They were eight foul traitors who penetrated into high posts in the ranks of the Red Army. They were spies in the service of "the secret police of a foreign state which is pursuing an unfriendly policy towards the U.S.S.R."

Under the pressure of incontrovertible evidence, these most foul agents of fascism—Tukhachevsky and others—were compelled to admit their monstrous crimes. On direct instructions from Hitler's general staff, they systematically provided it with secret information, committed wrecking acts for the purpose of undermining the might of the Red Army, and prepared to bring about the defeat of the Red Army in the event of a military attack against the U.S.S.R., their object being to assist in securing the dismemberment of the Soviet Union and the restoration of the power of the landlords and capitalists.

The fury of the whole of the Soviet people fell on this detestable fascist band. The avenging sword of the proletarian dictatorship put an end to these fascist spies.

The unmasking of these eight traitors, as did the trials of the counter-revolutionary Trotskyist agents of fascism—Zinoviev, Kamenev, Piatakov, Radek and others—has revealed to the whole world the menacing, oncoming danger of a world war, prepared by bloody, barbarous fascism headed by Hitler Germany.

Fascism means war of the most depredatory and bestial kind. In preparing for war, fascism mobilizes all the castoffs of the decaying capitalist world. It takes into its service the White Guard emigre scum who dream of bloody orgies by Kolchakian "death trains," and of horrible Jewish pogroms. In Spain it hires reactionary generals. In the U.S.S.R. it recruits Trotskyist and Right-wing individuals ready to restore capitalism, and makes use of the remnants of the defeated exploiting classes, who barter their native land for the sole purpose of restoring the power of the exploiters.

Fascism recruited the Tukhachevskys and Gamarniks, just as it bought over the White generals in Spain who are giving away the splendid land of Spain to be plundered by the German and Italian interventionists. Even such a conservative newspaper as the French *Temps* compares the traitor Tukhachevsky to butcher Franco who has sold his country.

War is needed by those who oppress their own people, who, like German fascism, exhaust the material resources of their country and the patience of the masses of the people, who seek a way out of their insoluble difficulties in rapacious adventures. The German and Ital-

ian fascists are making use of the weakness of the resistance of the bourgeois-democratic countries and their hesitations, and are already conducting open warfare against the heroic, freedom-loving Spanish people who are engaged in the courageous defense of their republic and their independence. The raging attacks of Hitler, Mussolini and other fascist leaders against the Soviet Union and the People's Front are a consequence of their fear of the growing discontent among the masses they enslave.

Two decades have hardly passed since the World War, a most criminal and reactionary war, piled up mountains of corpses on the fields of Flanders and Galicia, caused millions of people to rot on thousand-mile fronts, and devastated tremendous productive forces—all in the name of new markets and new sources of profit for the bourgeoisie. Ten million people were killed in that war, which cost the belligerent countries $208,000,000,000. What sacrifices will be demanded by the war being prepared by the fascist barbarians of today? What destruction of productive forces, what poverty and plunder, what annihilation of the flower of mankind are the fascist warmongers once more preparing?

This is what every proletarian, every honest man thought about when he read the statement of the supreme tribunal of the U.S.S.R. Into what a calamitous abyss did the foul fascists want to plunge the whole of mankind with the aid of this gang of traitors!

Aye, fascism is thirsting for war. But the peoples want peace. Comrade Stalin, who stands at the head of the proletarian struggle for civilization, for human progress, expressed the thoughts and feelings of all peoples when he declared eighteen months ago that "throughout the world there is no nation that wants war." The mighty Soviet Union is marching at the head of all countries in the struggle for peace. The eyes of all the friends of peace are turned towards it. Its mighty power is supremely necessary for the maintenance of world peace.

This is why the destruction of the fascist spies is a *great victory in the preservation of peace.* That is why it was with a feeling of profound satisfaction that the proletarians and working people of the whole world, all progressive mankind, all honest friends of peace, met the verdict of the Soviet court. The wiping out of this gang is a *big defeat of fascism,* which had hoped, through them, to bring war against the U.S.S.R. nearer and to let loose a new world war.

The fascists are beside themselves with rage. The destruction of this gang of spies means a stunning breakdown of their criminal calculations. The blow dealt by the organs of the People's Commissariat for Home Affairs under the glorious leadership of Comrade Yezhov has hit the mark. That is why the *Volkischer Beobachter,* the chief mouthpiece of German fascism, is beside itself with fury and is calling for a new crusade against the U.S.S.R. The rage of the fascist press betrays the fact that the masters of this gang of fascist spies have lost their heads. The fascist *Frankfurter Zeitung* in its issue of June 13 sighs perplexedly: "What has taken place in Soviet Russia during the last few months implies a purification."

The reactionary press in many capitalist countries has started an anti-Soviet hullabaloo to appease German fascism, which is smarting under the blow. They mourn the destruction of the eight bandits. But they have no word to say about the mountains of corpses which this fascist gang was preparing all over the world. They do not grieve over the thousands of victims of Malaga, Guernica, Almeria and dozens of Spanish towns and villages devastated by fascist bombing planes. They do not grieve over the victims of the bestial race policy of fascism who have been tortured morally and physically. They have been and continue to remain silent when the fascist violators burn, plunder and kill in Ethiopia and Manchuria, when imperialism throttles millions of colonial slaves.

They do not grieve when millions of unemployed in the capitalist countries degenerate physically and morally, despite the growth of industry and profits.

Now, as always, the anti-Soviet drive of the reactionary bourgeoisie is echoed by the reactionary, anti-Soviet leaders of Social-Democracy and, particularly, by the leaders of the British Labor Party who take their cue from the Tories. The *Daily Herald* is in the forefront of this calumny. Apparently Citrine, Bevin and other such reactionary leaders of the Labor Party and the British trade unions are trying to make capital out of the defense of the fascist spies. These are the same leaders who were chiefly to blame for the historic defeat of the great General Strike of 1926, who harnessed themselves to Baldwin's chariot, who are doing everything in their power to prevent the development of the British workers' struggle for increased wages, and who have sabotaged and still sabotage aid to the cause of peace and democracy in Spain, and are the leading spirits in the ranks of the Socialist International of resistance to international united action. Behind a mask of lying phrases about democracy, they are conducting a most poisonous campaign against socialism as actually embodied in the Land of Soviets, a campaign which is of an even more lying and demagogic character than that of many organs of the capitalist press. Their fury shows their impotence, the impotence of bankrupts, whose activities have everywhere only gone to pave the way for fascism and to free the hands of the warmongers.

The opinion of the whole of advanced and progressive mankind was expressed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France, when, in its manifesto regarding the treason of Tukhachevsky and the other traitors and spies, it made the following declaration:

"At a time when the peoples of the Soviet Union are preparing to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the great proletarian revolution, at a time when the working people throughout the world are delightedly greeting the great achievements of the land of socialism, at a time when socialist civilization under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, its Central Committee and our great Comrade Stalin, is displaying all its superiority in the face of the fascist barbarians who have slipped their chains . . . precisely at this time despicable individuals bought over by capitalism tried to plunge a knife into the back of the first socialist state of workers and peasants."

The final and irrevocable victory of socialism in the Land of Soviets has destroyed all possibilities of a mass basis for the class enemy. The espionage work and acts of wrecking, committed by Tukhachevsky and his fascist gang with a view to undermining the might of the workers' and peasants' Red Army, are forms of the resistance displayed by the remnants of the crushed exploiting classes.

The fact that the fascist general staffs send entire groups of spies into the land of the proletarian dictatorship, that they are increasingly striving to make connections with all that remain of the routed exploiting classes and counter-revolutionary groups inside the U.S.S.R., is an expression of their furious hatred and fear of the tremendous conquests of socialism as registered in the Stalinist Constitution. Nor does it by any means signify, as the *Daily Herald* would assert, the superiority of the reformist policy of class collaboration, as a result of which the workers of Germany, Italy, Austria and a number of other countries fell under the fascist yoke. This is understood by all anti-fascists, all true democrats, all those who in deeds, not words, are conducting a struggle for peace, for liberty, for socialism.

The anti-fascists of all countries fully understand why Hitler's general staff carries on its operations in the U.S.S.R. with the aid of spies and diversionists; for they know that it is a general law of the relations among bourgeois states for them to engage in mutual acts of espionage and diversion, and that in par-

ticular the fascist states literally flood other countries with their agents.

"It has been proved as plainly as two and two make four that the bourgeois states shower their spies, wreckers, diversionists and sometimes murderers on each other, behind their frontiers; give them instructions to worm themselves into the factories and institutions of these states, to create their own network there and 'in case of necessity' to smash them from the rear so as to weaken them and undermine their power. Such is the case at the present time.

"Such, too, has been the case in the past."*

L'Humanite, central organ of the French Communist Party, is right, a thousand times right, when it puts the question: who knows how many spies and diversionists fascism in Germany and Italy has recruited and is now recruiting into the ranks of the "party" of Doriot, renegade and hireling of Hitler, and of other fascist organizations in France?

Is it not true that in Catalonia, Madrid, and Valencia it has been discovered that direct contact has existed between the Trotskyist P.O.U.M. organization and the fascist rebels? Is it not true that Malaga was surrendered primarily as a result of the absence of discipline and vigilance among the military commanders and the Caballero government, which allowed fascist agents to penetrate into the general staff and the highest positions in the republican army? Is it not true that in Bilbao the heroic Basque units were the victims of fascist agents who pretended to be the friends of the republic?

This illustrates the fact that it is the prime duty of Communists and all antifascists in Spain, France and all the democratic countries, to demand that the army be resolutely purged of all fascist elements. There is not the slightest doubt that had the warning cry of the Communist Party in Spain been heeded before the fascist rebels succeeded in consolidating their forces, had all anti-fascists in Spain acted with the necessary firmness and decision as did the organs of the proletarian dictatorship in the U.S.S.R., the Spanish people would not have had to undergo many of the horrors they are undergoing today.

Only by radically purging the armies of the democratic countries is it possible to save them from a repetition of the severe experience of Spain. Such a purge will still further increase the ability to resist the fascist aggressors.

The Soviet Union emerges still stronger and more powerful after the country has been purged of these despicable traitors, these Trotskyist and other fascist agents. The mighty workers' and peasants' Red Army, led by its iron People's Commissar, Marshal of the U.S.S.R., Comrade Voroshilov, is ready to crush any foe that dares to attack the land of socialism.

Every day the proud falcons of Soviet aviation astound the whole world with their new feats. It is not for nothing that the *Deutsche Briefe*, official organ of the German fascists, warns its supporters against underestimating the U.S.S.R., declaring that to do so would be "a serious mistake capable of having serious consequences." It is not for nothing that the notorious Otmar, spy-correspondent of the Polish official *Gazeta Polska*, at one time expelled from Moscow, as a "specialist" instructs the Polish fascists that "the Soviet regime is now far more stable than ever before." It is not for nothing that the Japanese *Nichi-Nichi* warns its readers that "it would be a tremendous mistake to prophesy gloomy prospects for the U.S.S.R." The Soviet people replied not only with unreserved endorsement of the sentence of the Supreme Court, but also with a mighty display of enthusiasm for the strengthening of the defenses of the first socialist country in the world. This they did by demanding that the government issue a Defense Loan, showing themselves ready to make any saerifices

* Joseph Stalin, *Mastering Bolshevism*, p. 12, Workers Library Publishers, New York. 5 cents.

in order to make the U.S.S.R. impregnable against all attacks.

Bearing in mind the lessons of this struggle against the Trotskyist bandits, Bukharinists, Zinovievists, spies and provocateurs, it is the duty of each Communist Party to launch a real struggle within its own ranks, and to rally the vigilance of the working masses against the provocative work of the Trotskyists and all other fascist agents.

In the decision of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on this question the most important practical tasks in this direction are indicated. The Communist Parties must arouse the Party organizations to expose the Trotskyist elements and their accomplices, and "incessantly to teach the Communists to recognize and unmask the enemy, by demanding of such elements unequivocal and clear answers on the following questions:

Their attitude to the U.S.S.R. and the leadership of the C.P.S.U.

The tactical line of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern.

The united front and unity of the labor movement.

Fascism and the policy of the anti-fascist People's Front.

Only by fulfilling this task consistently, by converting the struggle against the Trotskyist and other agents of the fascists into a component part of the common struggle of the working class against fascism, will the Communist Parties fulfil their historic mission in the struggle for peace, for democracy, for the final victory of labor over capital, for the victory of socialism throughout the world.

Spain Calls for Unity

GERMAN warships have bombarded Almeria. Under the fire of heavy guns even the most credulous could not fail to understand the actual meaning of the celebrated "non-intervention." It means an open merciless war conducted by German and Italian fascism against the Spanish people, against the Spanish republic.

Faced with the ruins of peaceful, unfortified towns, faced with the bodies of killed women and children—to the greater glory of Hitler—all of us must ask ourselves: have we done enough to support the Spanish people in their struggle for liberty, to defend the peace of the peoples against the brute, fascist war?

The factory workers and working people generally in all countries, the millions of honest and progressive people, are on the side of the Spanish people and are rising up in ever greater indignation against the dishonorable, insidious fascist governments which are hurling themselves upon the free people of Spain in order to secure as much booty as possible.

Thousands of the best sons of the international working class are fighting in the ranks of the Spanish people's army. The workers of all countries are supporting republican Spain materially, with food, clothing and medicaments. The moral and political solidarity displayed by the great Soviet people enabled the Spanish People's Front to overcome many difficulties in good time. The world proletariat has taken up a resolute stand on the side of the fighting Spanish people. But has this help been enough, are the efforts which have been spent up to now sufficient to achieve victory, liberty and peace in Spain?

No. As long as German warships can bombard Spanish towns with impunity, as long as German pilots can with impunity erase entire villages from the face of the earth, as long as Italian divisions can be dispatched to Spain with impunity, so long must we consider that international solidarity has not been sufficient. As long as even a single soldier of Hitler and Mussolini remains on Spanish soil, the international working class has not yet fulfilled its proletarian, its historic duty. As long as Spanish democracy is not victorious, every class-conscious worker, all parties and organizations of the working class are in duty bound to double and treble their efforts to bring about the victory of Spanish democracy and thereby to safeguard their own liberty and the peace of all nations from the world catastrophe being prepared by the fascists.

Why is it that the action of the international working class in aid of Spain has been insufficient up to the present?

In spite of the fact that the workers of all countries clearly recognize that the struggle on behalf of Spain is a struggle for their own lives, for their own fate; in spite of the fact that the masses of the people in all countries are taking a more and more resolute stand on the side of the Spanish People's Front, the international working class has not yet been a *united* force in organizing aid for Spain. The split in the working class, the scattered nature of its action, are the most dangerous auxiliary assistance to the tightly closed front of advancing fascism.

The cause of democracy in Spain would long ago have been lost if the Spanish Socialists and Spanish Communists had not in good time set up a united

front and had not concluded a firm alliance with all freedom-loving and progressive forces inside the country. The struggle in Spain would have already been won had the workers of all countries followed the example of their Spanish comrades and closed their ranks in a united international front.

In order to rally all forces against the accursed fascist enemy, our Spanish comrades are more and more persistently demanding this international unity of the working class. While they themselves are consolidating their unity at the battle fronts, they are unable to understand the bureaucratic resistance to the international united front.

After the bombardment of Almeria, the Socialist Party, the Communist Party and the General Workers' Union of Spain addressed to the Labor and Socialist International, the Communist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions a telegram demanding that these three internationals "take energetic joint action."*

The Communist International replied immediately. On behalf of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, Comrade Dimitroff dispatched a telegram on June 3 to Ramon Lamoneda, Jose Diaz and Felipe Pretel, in which he declared that the Communist International fully supported the proposal of the Spanish Socialists, Communists and trade unions.

At the same time Comrade Dimitroff made a proposal on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the president of the Labor and Socialist International that a joint contact commission be established of the three internationals with a view to establishing international united action against the intervention of the German and Italian fascists in Spain. Comrade Dimitroff, moreover, added that the Communist International was ready to discuss any proposals made by the Labor and Socialist International and the International Federation of Trade Unions, directed towards the defense of the Spanish people.

The president of the Labor and Socialist International, De Brouckere, replied on June 4 that neither the president nor the secretary of the Labor and Socialist International had the necessary powers to take part in a contact commission with the Communist International.

The Communist International was not satisfied with this objection, which countered the urgent demands of the Spanish workers with arguments regarding formal powers, without the trouble even being taken to ask for such powers from the corresponding authorities in the Socialist International.

Comrade Dmiitroff replied that if the Labor and Socialist International considered unacceptable the form of contact proposed by the Communist International, then the interests of the common cause of aid to the Spanish people demanded other concrete proposals on the part of the Labor and Socialist International in order to achieve that end. For the Communist International it was not the form that was most important, but the essence of the case. Thereupon Comrade Dimitroff announced that the Communist International, in the interests of hastening on joint action, considered it necessary to bring about an immediate exchange of opinion between the representatives of the Communist International and of the Labor and Socialist International.

After this De Brouckere stated that the Labor and Socialist International was prepared to meet with representatives of the Communist International "for information purposes and to exchange views on the best way of conducting this action, by common agreement wherever possible, without useless friction."

We welcome this first, though modest, step toward an international rapproche-

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* See article, "Correspondence Between the Communist International and Labor and Socialist International" in July issue of *The Communist International*, p. 447.

ment. Up to now the Labor and Socialist International has replied with a refusal to all the attempts of the Communist International to establish international unity of action against fascism and war.

* * *

The history of the heroic anti-fascist struggle of the working class during the last three years is at the same time a history of unceasing attempts to bring about international unity of action and the rallying together of all proletarian and progressive forces against war and fascism.

In October, 1934, the Spanish workers rose up in arms against the attempts of the Lerroux government to establish a fascist regime. In the days when the Asturian miners were shedding their blood in defense of their liberty against the numerically far superior forces of reaction, the Communist International, on October 11, 1934, made the proposal to the Labor and Socialist International to undertake "immediate joint action both to afford support to the fighting Spanish proletariat and to prevent support being given to the Lerroux government by the governments of other capitalist countries."

On October 15 a meeting took place in Brussels of the representatives of the Communist International in the persons of Cachin and Thorez, and the representatives of the Socialist International in the persons of Vandervelde and Adler. The president and secretary of the Labor and Socialist International arrived at the meeting with a previously prepared written declaration in which all joint action on an international scale was rejected.

Vandervelde and Adler declared that they had no powers, that they had only the right to hear the proposals of the Communists but not at all to accept them. They declared that it was too late to conduct joint international action because the struggle in Spain was coming to an end, but that on the other hand it was too early, because it was not known whether the proposal of the Communist International was a simple "maneuver," and it would require long negotiations in order to obtain sufficient "guarantees" for agreement.

That was what the Socialist representatives had to say. When a month later, on November 13, the Executive Committee of the Labor and Socialist International met in Paris, the armed struggle of the Asturian miners had already been crushed. The Labor and Socialist International thereupon decided: "To consider the proposal of the Communist International as having lost actual meaning."

During the Brussels negotiations, Cachin and Thorez, the representatives of the Communist International, limited themselves merely to proposals for international action to aid Spain, in order to obtain a rapid, imperatively necessary and effective agreement, without complicating negotiations with more far-reaching problems. The Executive Committee of the Labor and Socialist International tried to create the impression that the Communist International was prepared *only* for joint action in aid of Spain and not for more far-reaching international unity.

During the Brussels negotiations, Vandervelde declared:

"We must above all take steps to prepare for the near future and try, in the event of other events taking place, not to be caught unawares as has been the case with us in connection with events in Spain."

Instead of establishing contact with the Communist International and preparing for collaboration in the near future, the leadership of the Labor and Socialist International replied to the proposal of the Communists with a downright refusal.

The new events which Vandervelde quite rightly foresaw came on in September, 1935. Italian fascism began to provoke an incident in Africa in order to attack Ethiopia and convert it into an Italian colony.

It was now impossible to talk about the Labor and Socialist International

being caught unawares: the rapacious fascist war was prepared before the eyes of the whole world, and undoubtedly every possibility existed for rallying all the forces of the working class in good time against Mussolini's war plans.

On September 25, eight days before the beginning of military operations by the fascists against Ethiopia, Comrade Dimitroff dispatched a telegram to the Secretariat of the Labor and Socialist International pointing out that "all that has been done up to now on your part and on ours is still inadequate in face of the menacing danger."

A delegation of the Communist International composed of Cachin, Thorez, Pollitt and Schwarm immediately came together in Paris to establish contact with the Labor and Socialist International. But the leadership of the Labor and Socialist International unfortunately maintained stony silence. On September 27, Friedrich Adler replied that the decisions of the Executive Committee of the Labor and Socialist International would be reported separately.

On September 28, the Communist delegation approached Adler. The Secretary of the Labor and Socialist International replied that the Executive Committee of the Labor and Socialist International was fully occupied at the moment with the British Labor Party Congress, and that only when it was finished would the Executive Committee be able to reply to Comrade Dimitroff's telegram.

On October 7, Comrade Dimitroff once more appealed on behalf of the Communist International to the Labor and Socialist International. His letter said:

"We proposed the immediate discussion at a joint conference of the representatives of the two Internationals of how best to exert our common efforts to operate the measures for the maintenance of peace outlined by both your and our Internationals. The Secretary of the Labor and Socialist International informed us that the Executive Committee of the Labor and Socialist International would examine our proposal. Up to now, however, we have received no reply from the Executive Committee of the Labor and Socialist International.

"The fact that joint action by the two Internationals was not immediately organized undoubtedly encouraged the fascist warmongers to undertake open military action. Insofar as much has already been neglected, it is all the more the obligation of ourselves and yourselves at the present moment to secure the cessation of military action, and to prevent the war spreading to our countries. . . . Once again we stress the urgent need for the Executive Committee of the Labor and Socialist International giving a positive answer to our proposal."

On October 13, the Executive Committee of the Labor and Socialist International came together in Brussels. Its reply ran as follows:

"As regards the proposal of the Communist International to arrange a meeting with their four appointed representatives, the Socialist Parties of Great Britain, Holland, Sweden, Denmark and Czechoslovakia declare that they cannot accept this proposal by reason of the composition of the delegation of the Communist International, on the one hand, and on the other hand, because they reject all joint action with the Communist Parties of their respective countries and all joint action whatsoever between the two Internationals. Since the Executive Committee of the Labor and Socialist International has to take account of the opinions of these big working class parties, it is not in a position to accept the invitation of the Communist International."

The five parties mentioned formed a minority in the Executive Committee of the Labor and Socialist International, but the majority subordinated themselves to their wish by rejecting the Communist International proposal.

The fact that the world proletariat failed to offer up united resistance to Italian fascism, but left the urge for unity untouched is not the least important reason why Italian fascism was able to win the war in Ethiopia.

After the war in Ethiopia, German and Italian fascism plunged into a new

military adventure by attacking democratic Spain. In the summer of 1936 a rebellion began against the Spanish republic, organized by German and Italian fascism. The Communist International immediately appealed to all working class organizations throughout the world, and called upon them to give united support to the Spanish People's Front, to the Spanish republic. When the rebels advanced upon Madrid and Spanish democracy was passing through the most dangerous moments, the Communist International immediately appealed to the Labor and Socialist International. On October 6, Comrades Cachin and Thorez, on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Comintern addressed a proposal for a joint meeting to the president and secretary of the Labor and Socialist International. On October 14, the representatives of the Communist International met De Brouckere and Adler and proposed the calling of an international conference of working class organizations to work out the basis for joint international aid to Spain.

The representatives of the Labor and Socialist International replied that such a conference would be superfluous. At the same time they also rejected a proposal to conduct joint international action in support of the Spanish republic. Adler and De Brouckere declared that they were doing all that needed to be done and that therefore there was no need for international unity.

However, the Spanish workers and anti-fascists were of quite a different opinion. In the face of growing fascist intervention and the outrageous brutalities of the fascists, the Spanish working class organizations—Socialists, Communists, and trade unions—are persistently calling upon all international organizations of the proletariat to undertake united action in defense of the Spanish Republic (in November, 1936, on January 19, 1937, and March 11, 1937).

The Communist International, which places above everything else its proletarian duty of doing everything possible to defend the liberty of the Spanish people and universal peace, has again and again tried to obtain joint international action. The Secretariat of the Labor and Socialist International has at last agreed to meet the representatives of the Communist International. At the time of writing these lines, the meeting had not yet taken place.

* * *

May this meeting not remain fruitless as have been all the previous attempts at negotiations between the representatives of the Communist and Socialist Internationals! The Communist International sets no conditions. The Communist International is prepared to discuss any proposal capable of furthering the cause of unity as a basis for negotiations.

No reasons whatsoever exist to justify the rejection of the proposals put forward by the Spanish Socialists, Communists and trade union leaders.

For several years the Communists have been without a break conducting a struggle for the united front. Communists are fighting and sacrificing their lives in the struggle for the liberty of the Spanish people. Shoulder to shoulder with the Socialists they are defending the democratic rights of the French people. In all countries they support all measures, however modest, adopted by the Social-Democrats against fascism. In all countries they are indefatigably striving to rally all the forces of the working class against the accursed fascist enemy.

All honest Socialists have become convinced during these years of the sincerity of the Communists, who are pursuing the policy of the united front.

The opponents of the united front have asserted that the united front scares away the petty bourgeoisie and isolates the working class. But wherever the united front has been established, the opposite has taken place: the united front has not only rallied all the forces of the working class, has not only drawn the unorganized into the working class organizations, has not only increased the confidence of the proletariat in their own

strength, but has also won over the middle strata to the alliance with the working class, and considerably lessened the attraction of fascism.

The stronger the working class, the more united its action, the more resolutely it throws all its might into the scales, the broader will be the sections of the people which it can gather around itself, and the greater will be its power of attraction for the impoverished peasants and the middle strata. Only the strong and by no means the weak, can win the waverers.

The opponents of the united front have asserted that it was not necessary, that to combine the proletarian forces by no means implies an increase in these forces, that in the majority of countries the Communist Parties have the support of only an insignificant minority of the working class, and that an alliance with this insignificant minority could not change the relation of political forces. The events of the last few years have decisively refuted this assertion. The Communist Party of Spain was a small party, but today it is a factor of great political importance: it has become such a factor not at the expense of the Socialist Party, but thanks to rallying and organizing the hitherto unorganized masses, who have been won over by the advance of the united front, of the anti-fascist struggle.

The Communist Party of France was long ignored by the Socialists because it had only ten parliamentary deputies. Today the Communist Party of France is a factor of tremendous political importance, while the Socialist Party, thanks to the united front policy, has become the largest party in the government.

The fact that it is wrong to regard unity merely as the arithmetical addition of forces is most clearly illustrated by the example of the French trade unions. The 500,000 and 300,000 workers organized in the respective Confederations of Labor grew into a united trade union army five million strong a year after unity had been achieved.

The international united front, just as the united front on a national scale, would by no means be a simple addition of forces: it would call forth a mighty growth of the proletarian forces in all countries and would bring millions of proletarians into motion who have hitherto remained outside the organizations, aside from politics.

The day we achieve international unity of action will mark a tremendous defeat for fascism in all countries.

All honest Socialists are confronted with a great historic task, to overcome the reactionary resistance to international unity of action, of advantage only to the bourgeoisie, only to fascism, and to prevent the desires of the British Conservatives and other enemies of the proletariat from getting the upper hand over the will of the fighting Spanish workers, over the will of the overwhelming majority of the working class.

The time has come for all Socialists and Communists, all workers throughout the world, to take a decisive step towards liberating Spain, towards liberating all the peoples of the world from the fascist danger.

Hitler Fascism, the Chief Incendiary of a New World War

BY WILHELM PIECK

WITHOUT officially declaring war the Hitler government has proceeded to open acts of war against the Spanish people. Before the eyes of the whole world the guns of German battleships wrought havoc on the defenceless town of Almeria where, to add to the victims of Guernica, hundreds have been killed and wounded and thousands rendered homeless.

The turn of the German fascists to open military action against the Spanish people and their legitimate government is no accident, and has nothing to do with the dropping of bombs by two Spanish planes upon the armored cruiser Deutschland which had attacked them. The reason lies exclusively in the determination of the Hitler government to secure an absolutely free hand for a large-scale war against the Spanish people. The German and Italian governments were forced, under the pressure of world public opinion, to participate in the conferences of the London Non-Intervention Committee at which the two fascist governments hypocritically raised the question of prohibiting the entry of volunteers into Spain but, of course, said nothing about the withdrawal of the troops forcibly sent to Spain by the Italian and German governments, or about the recall of their warships from Spanish waters. Everyone knows of the astonishing tolerance displayed by the British representatives in relation to the fascist governments. The "White Paper" submitted by the Spanish government to the League of Nations Council supplies documentary proof of the fact that operating against the Spanish people there is a real army of foreign intervention, the army of Italian fascism which has invaded a foreign country.

Under the impression of this document and the unparalleled atrocities of the German and Italian interventionist troops, the League of Nations Council, which during the many months of fascist insurrection and intervention in Spain has played a pitiful role, on May 29 unanimously adopted a resolution condemning the foul war methods of the intervention, especially the bombardment of unfortified cities, and welcomed the initiative of the Non-Intervention Committee on the recall from Spain of all non-Spanish participants in the armed struggle, and the operation of a system of international control.

These measures, if effectively operated, would seriously hinder the militarist intervention of German and Italian fascism in Spain. The growing strength of the military forces of the Spanish people would give them increasing preponderance over the military forces of the Spanish rebels and of the intervention, and would make the defeat of the latter inevitable if it were made impossible for them to despatch additional forces from Germany and Italy. A defeat of the fascist interventionists in Spain, however, would create a big danger in their respective countries, for the Hitler government as well as for Mussolini. The fascist governments are therefore resorting to all possible acts of provocation in order to open hostilities against the Spanish people.

The criminal deeds committed by the Hitler government very clearly expose

all the hypocrisy of Hitler's peaceable assurances. The Hitler government is not concerned about any "compensation" for the dead sailors, but rather with the realization of its imperialist plans as pursued through the medium of military intervention in Spain. It is concerned with the possession and exploitation of the mines of Northern Spain in order thereby to be able to increase its war preparations with ever greater intensity; with securing Spain as a base for a future European war; with receiving the colonies which it is expecting from its conquests in Spain.

An examination of the German fascist press after the bombardment of Almeria will be sufficient to show how opportune the fascists now believe the moment to be for decisive action in order to achieve their goal. The Hitler government organ, the *Volkische Beobachter*, of June 1, writes the following regarding "Germany's conclusions":

"With the attack on the 'Deutschland,' however, the discussion on Spain has entered a decisive phase for Germany. . . . With the murder of 23 sailors of the armored cruiser Deutschland the time has come for the Reich when it can no longer share responsibility for the policy hitherto pursued in London. . . . German warships, whose number must be immediately increased, are on their part 'clear for action.' . . ."

The continuance by the British and French governments of the policy of concessions in relation to the two fascist powers does not lead to the moderation of their arrogant provocation but rather encourages it. The foreign policy of Hitler and Mussolini in relation to other states, especially in relation to France and England, consists chiefly in confronting them with accomplished facts which can only be swept aside by force. They resort to methods of real out-and-out blackmail. Hitler and Mussolini speculated on the other powers being afraid to use force against the war provocators as this might really lead to war. So far Hitler and Mussolini have succeeded in using these blackmailing methods with impunity to rob Ethiopia, to introduce universal military service in Germany and to militarize the Rhineland. It is with the same object in view that the military intervention in Spain has been undertaken. But these "successes" at the same time carry the germ of defeat for the two fascist powers. It is not their strength that prompts them to undertake their acts of provocation, but mainly alarm for the future of their regime.

The armament and war policy pursued by these two fascist powers is exhausting their economic reserves and driving their entire economy into a blind alley, the only way out of which the fascists see in war. Therein lies the real reason for the unparalleled acts of provocation to which they resort more and more brazenly. The fascists are bankrupt, playing a perilous gamble. Unfortunately these criminals hold power, and this enables them to menace the fate of the nations.

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Hitler fascism is the chief firebrand of a world war. This fact cannot be stressed too often, and this is why all the forces of peace in the world must be concentrated on the struggle against Hitler fascism. Its feverish arming for war, carried on at the cost of the standard of living of the working masses of Germany, shows that Hitler fascism is determined to bring about war and exposes Hitler's occasional peaceable utterances as the foul hypocrisy that they are.

There can be no doubt that another world war will bring Germany to an even more terrific defeat than in 1918. This has also been brought out recently in a book written by the German General Von Metzsch, entitled *The Only Guarantee Against Defeat*, which sees guarantee against defeat in the protection of Germany against starvation. But it is precisely on the question of feeding the German people that the Hitler dictatorship has created the greatest difficulty. German agriculture is not in a position to feed the population, and foodstuffs

have to be imported. And the policy of the Hitler government to provoke war leads to the isolation of Germany. This is one of the most essential factors which render the defeat of Germany in the event of war an inevitability.

How does the Hitler government try to justify its armament and war policy? The introduction of universal military service and the remilitarization of the Rhineland (both of them acts in violation of the Versailles Peace Treaty), were carried through by the Hitler government on the plea of equal rights for the German people, on the plea that "the German people can do whatever they like in their own home," that they have the right to protect their national honor and liberty. But the German people were never so much enslaved, deprived to such a degree of all liberties, their national honor so deeply disgraced as now under the Hitler dictatorship. All that these measures of the Hitler government required from the German people was new sacrifices, and made the outside world still more suspicious toward Germany.

Another ground for their armament policy advanced by the fascists is the demand for colonies, the expansion of "Germany's living space," the conquest of sources of raw materials. Here the imperialist plans of German finance capital are expressed without ambiguity. For the colonies which Germany possessed before the World War were only a source of heavy burdens for the German people, and were of very little use. They were of no importance for German economy either from the point of view of the export of goods, the import of raw materials or the settling of colonizers. A few figures will illustrate this. Before the war Germany drew only 5 per cent of her raw material from her large African colonial territories, and only 2 per cent of her foodstuffs. Of her total export only 5 per cent went to these colonies; during the thirty years of Germany's possession of these colonies only 20,000 Germans settled there, 3,000 of whom were soldiers and officials sent there by the government. In the last ten years, 25,000 Germans have left Germany, but only 40 of them have gone to Germany's former colonies. Hitler fascism knows this full well. If, however, despite this, it threatens Britain and France, and demands colonies, it is not because it has anything to do with the economic interests of the German people. It only expresses the striving of Hitler fascism to expand its power and prestige and to establish bases for itself for naval warfare. The "living space" at the disposal of the German people was quite adequate, despite the density of the population, and Germany was able to achieve great progress as a result of peaceful trade with other countries. Hitler fascism, with its provocative foreign policy, has done serious harm to these peaceful relations of the German people with other nations.

The question of raw materials is of decisive importance for the economic development of Germany. German economy always received sufficient quantities of raw materials and foodstuffs through the peaceful exchange of commodities with other nations. Possibilities for this exist under the Hitler dictatorship too. Not so very long ago the British and French governments made far-reaching proposals to the Hitler government to supply raw materials for German industry, provided that this raw material was used for industrial purposes and not for armaments. The Hitler government rejected this proposition. The only reason for the shortage of raw materials and foodstuffs in Germany under the Hitler dictatorship is the fact that almost two-thirds of the imported raw materials are used for armaments, while industry runs short. The currency needed for the import of foodstuffs and raw materials is likewise utilized for the purchase of war materials, for the formation of a "war chest" for fascist propaganda, espionage, bribery, the upkeep of fascist organizations abroad, the organization of putsches and assassination, and for military intervention in Spain.

As to the need for "living space," Germany has plenty of land for settlement

purposes and agriculture. Most of this land, however, is in the hands of the big landlords whom the Hitler government will not molest under any circumstances. On the contrary, Hitler's entire policy is in the interests of the big landlords as well as of big business.

The Hitler government, by adopting its policy of autarchy, has taken a road which leads into a blind alley. The Hitler government alleges that the boycott of German goods by foreign countries is the cause of this policy and that that is why he has decided to make the country independent of other countries and through artificial substitutes replace the necessary natural raw materials. Hitler himself, when he thought it necessary, once said in a speech that such a policy was "madness" because it was inconceivable for one country, particularly Germany, to become economically independent of other countries. But this "madness" is now being enforced in Germany by the Hitler government.

The "four-year plan," which was proclaimed with so much pomp and for the carrying out of which General Goering was made responsible, amounts mainly to the production of substitute materials. This "plan" is supplemented by the so-called "battle for agricultural production." This "four-year plan" is a war plan in the true sense of the term, and is calculated exclusively on creating the conditions needed for the conduct of war. But the carrying through of this plan meets with the greatest difficulties, both of an objective and subjective character. The production of substitute raw materials is only possible on condition that huge sums of money are invested. The population, however, is unwilling to make use of substitutes in view of their defects. But still more important is the opposition of the working people of Germany to this plan, because of the way in which it is being carried out. The carrying out of the plan is based primarily upon the terrific robbery and exploitation of the working masses. A speed-up system has been introduced in the factories which reduces the workers to the point of utter exhaustion. Overtime, which stretches the working day to fourteen hours, without extra pay, has become practically the rule. Wages are at a low level, while prices are rising, despite the decree to the contrary, so that the standard of living of the workers is constantly declining. Resistance to the "four-year plan" is steadily rising, and it is noteworthy that working people who still support Hitler's party are taking an increasing part in this resistance. This is causing the Hitler government the greatest alarm and so it is trying to break this resistance by means of intensified terror, even against its own followers.

Matters are still worse with regard to the carrying through of the notorious "battle for agricultural production" whereby the nourishment of the German people is to be guaranteed in the event of war. The Hitler government began this "battle" in 1934 and spent an extraordinary amount of money—nearly 10,000,000,000 marks—on new construction, machinery and fertilizers. The result, however, has only been a decline in grain crops with a slight improvement in the potato yield. This widely advertised plan failed partly because of unfavorable weather, but on the other hand because artificial fertilization alone cannot raise the fertility of the soil for any long period. The soil needs manure but the supply of this is diminishing owing to the decline in the number of cattle, especially hogs, and this in its turn is due to the prohibition of the feeding of cattle with grain or potatoes.

Another essential factor is the resistance of the peasant population, who are being ruined by this plan. The fixed government prices on farm products are far too low for the small and middle farmers and render peasant agriculture unprofitable, and so they are driven into ever-growing debt. Then comes the growing burden of taxation. All these results of the agrarian policy of the Hitler government which is directed to the needs of war impel the farmers to sabotage and open resistance to the agricul-

tural measures of the government connected with the "battle for production." The government is trying to break this resistance by means of more rigid control of peasant economy by fascist officials. Big fines are inflicted on recalcitrant farmers without, however, the desired aim being achieved. On the contrary, the resistance of the farmers is clearly increasing. This finds expression also in the ever more frequent threats of Hitler and Goering hurled against peasant "elements hostile to the state."

This growing resistance of the workers and peasants to the big capitalist policy of the Hitler government is supplemented by the resistance of the middle classes, of the small artisans and traders. In spite of all the promises of a life of plenty made at one time by Hitler's party to the middle classes, the small artisans and traders are heading toward utter ruin, owing to the competition of the big capitalist enterprises, the shortage of raw material, the deterioration of available material, the decline in the purchasing power of the masses, and the rise in the cost of living. Bankruptcy has become a regular occurrence. The annual income of German artisans per head dropped from 4,000,000,000 marks before the crisis to 1,800,000,000 marks in 1935. The average annual income of the artisan in Germany today—and there are 1,500,000 of them—is 1,200 marks. To this should be added the growing burden of taxation and rents. The Hitler government is trying to suppress the resistance of the artisans expressed at meetings of artisans' organizations and also in the church opposition, by means of suppressing their organizations, and by fines, and their forceful enrollment into the fascist organizations. The artisans' guilds, too, are now to be dissolved and replaced by "local artisans' corporations" within the framework of "The German Labor Front."

The Hitler government hopes to overcome the difficulties created by the resistance of the masses to its war policy through a system of acts of provocation in its foreign policy, so as to divert the attention of the masses from their hardships at home.

To secure the realization of its criminal war designs the Hitler government is seeking for allies, hoping particularly to find them among the small states which it is trying to make dependent upon itself by means of economic pressure or by direct interference in their internal affairs. This is happening particularly in the Danubian and Balkan countries and in Denmark. The methods used by the Hitler government here are those of direct extortion, and it tries to secure itself a privileged position in the exchange of commodities by resorting to the "clearing" system, not stopping at deception and fraud in this connection.

To counteract the policy of collective security and peace by means of treaties such as those concluded between the Soviet Union and France and Czechoslovakia, the Hitler government proposes so-called bilateral treaties which in reality are military alliances of aggressors. But the partners of the Hitler government have to notice that the German fascists wish to lead them by the nose and transform them into their vassals.

In some countries where Hitler fascism endeavored to improve its position by setting up and supporting mass fascist movements there at a tremendous cost, this policy failed miserably. The defeat of Degrelles in the Belgian elections and of Mussert in the Dutch elections, and the failure of the Hitler putsch in Hungary are a confirmation of this. The attempts of Hitler fascism to advance its position in the Danubian and Balkan countries have been paralyzed lately by energetic activity there by France and Great Britain. In the Scandinavian countries where Hitler, by exerting strong pressure on the governments of these countries, is trying to guarantee himself sources of raw materials for his armament scheme, the resistance to Hitler fascism is also growing. Indignation at fascist aggression has increased throughout the world, particularly as a result of the inhuman atrocities of Hitler and Italian fascism

in their intervention in Spain, in the bombardment of peaceful defenseless towns, the destruction of Guernica and now the open hostilities of Hitler fascism directed against the Spanish people. This is leading to the further isolation of Germany.

Hitler fascism is trying to divert attention from its criminal designs and actions and to break through its isolation by proclaiming itself "the world's savior from Bolshevism." The Hitler government spends enormous funds on its notorious anti-Bolshevik propaganda. It has set up an "anti-Comintern" organization, the only object of which is to invent and spread false reports about the Soviet Union, about the Communist International and about the states which are associated with the Soviet Union through friendly and peace agreements. The most absurd lies and calumnies are spread daily through the fascist press and radio stations.

The Hitler government fears the truth like the plague. This is best illustrated by the radio jamming every evening to prevent the workers of Germany and other countries from listening in to the illegal German radio broadcasts on a wave length of 29.8 Despite the severe penalties imposed by the Hitler government on those who listen in to these broadcasts and to those of the People's Front of Spain, thousands of workers and peasants, including members of Hitler's party, sit at the radio apparatus every evening to hear the voice of truth.

The growing resistance of the most varied sections of the German population to this criminal home and foreign policy of the Hitler government does not as yet find expression in more frequent and open acts. This, however, should not create a false impression as to the actual extent of the opposition.

It should be remembered that where open action develops into demonstrations, passive resistance, or strikes undertaken by workers enraged against the existing regime, the immediate consequence, of course, is increased terror—arrests, heavy sentences and murder. But even this terror does not scare the working masses so much after four years of the Hitler dictatorship. This is evident even among fascist supporters, an ever-growing number of whom in the factories and villages are joining with the workers and peasants in opposing fascism. German workers, artisans and peasants in the fascist mass organizations, and particularly in the German "Labor Front," demand the discussion of economic problems and the introduction of democratic forms of leadership in the organizations. The failure of the May 1 demonstration this year has likewise shown that the fascists are succeeding less and less in deceiving the workers and peasants with their demagogic phases about "community of interests," about the honor of the workers and peasants, about "Strength in Joy," and the talk of the solicitude of the "Fuehrer" about the welfare of the masses. Despite the greatest efforts used by the fascists to force the working people to take part in the fascist May Day processions, their success this year was smaller than ever, and the fascists had to stage military parades instead.

The staging of the scandalous trials against Catholic priests and monks by means of which Hitler fascism is seeking to discredit the Catholic church in the eyes of the masses, also confirms the fact that it has not succeeded in winning over the Catholic masses. Hitler has to resort to the grossest methods in order to destroy the Catholic organizations and to make it more difficult for the Catholic church to continue its religious activities. In a referendum as to whether the Catholic schools should be schools of "pure faith" or fascist public schools, the fascists had to resort to the most violent terror and the grossest manipulations in order to secure a majority for the fascist public schools.

To cope with this resistance fascism kindles nationalist passions among the masses and is trying to drive them to the bloodbath, to bring them under the brutal pressure of the war machine.

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The danger of another world war is becoming more and more imminent owing to the open military action of Hitler fascism in Spain. The impudent provocations of German and Italian fascism have become so brazen that war can only be prevented by joint action on the part of the peoples of the most important countries. The seriousness of the hour demands of the masses the world over that they offer energetic resistance to the two fascist aggressors and their war provocations, and establish unity and unanimity in the struggle for the maintenance of peace. Only if Hitler and Mussolini are faced with such a united and energetic will to resist the criminal warmongers will they be forced to retreat or be swept aside by the masses.

The letter despatched by Comrade Dimitroff, General Secretary of the Communist International, to the Communist and Socialist Parties and to the trade unions of Spain, and also his letter to the President of the Executive Committee of the Labor and Socialist International concerning the open military action of the Hitler government against the Spanish people, show the working people throughout the world the path they must follow in order to prevent this greatest of crimes, another world war. Never was the need for international solidarity, for a united fighting front of all the friends of democracy and peace so urgent as today. The great example set by the peoples of the Soviet Union, under the wise leadership of our great Stalin, in displaying their determined will to defend peace, in the speeches at all League of Nations sessions by their representatives who time and again have demanded the protection of other countries against the aggression of the fascist states, must be followed by the working people throughout the world whose duty it is to demand energetic action from the governments of their countries against the fascist aggressors.

Such international unity and determined action on the part of the governments of the democratic countries would not only preserve peace but would give the oppressed masses of the people of Germany and Italy sufficient strength to resist the war preparations of their fascist governments and make it impossible for them to perpetrate their bloody crimes. Against this united force all the attempts of German and Italian fascism to create a military bloc against the peace-loving and democratic countries would be broken, and the action of the "Berlin-Rome axis" would be paralyzed and fascism itself destroyed.

Gramsci and the Communist Party of Italy

BY M. ERCOLI

WHEN Antonio Gramsci, member of Italian Parliament, was accused of deeds he had never committed, and in spite of his right to parliamentary immunity was sent for trial by a special tribunal in Rome, the fascist state prosecutor did not put himself to the trouble of substantiating the accusation by producing factual proofs. The indictment was based exclusively upon the evidence that Gramsci was the recognized leader of the Communist Party of Itay, even though it was a legal party at the time of his arrest.

But the state prosecutor displayed still greater cynicism when he declared: "We have to prohibit the functioning of this brain for twenty years." The fascist executioner in judge's robes in reality merely read out the *order* he had received from the fascist authorities and from Mussolini personally.

By order of the Italian reactionary bourgeoisie and Mussolini, Gramsci was placed in solitary confinement. Gramsci, who had always lived in regular and varied contact with people, with the workers whose psychology and requirements he understood to the full, and who loved him, was cut off from the whole world.

By order of the reactionary bourgeoisie and Mussolini he was endlessly dragged about in gloomy prison vans from prison to prison, his hands and feet in fetters.

By order of Mussolini, for many long years the prison warders noisily entered Gramsci's cell two and three times every night in order to deprive him of sleep and reduce him to physical and nervous exhaustion. By order of Mussolini, he was denied medical assistance, sick man though he was, deprived of the opportunity of taking regular food, and bedridden for weeks on end. The "doctor" who was ordered to visit him used to say: "Consider yourself lucky that they haven't finished you off yet," and used to declare that he did not consider it necessary to give him any assistance, and only hoped he would die.

When the struggle of the international proletariat and the indignation of some of the best of mankind forced Mussolini to release Gramsci from his prison cell where he was rotting alive and to afford him medical assistance, a guard of eighteen gendarmes and two policemen convoyed him under the command of a special commissar. This detachment was to keep guard over a man who had been lying days on end unconscious and senseless behind thick iron bars, a man who was already unable to raise himself from his bed without assistance.

During the last few months it had become clear that Gramsci's organism, exhausted by ten years of imprisonment and sickness, required special treatment if he were to remain alive. The butchers watched with joy the agony of our unforgettable comrade. And for us who knew that during the whole period of his incarceration Gramsci had fought his utmost for his life, as every revolutionary should fight (for he knew that his life was needed by the working class and his Party), for us his death remains wrapped in darkness.

Was a final foul act added to his long chain of torment? All who know Mussolini and fascism are aware that such a suggestion is perfectly justifiable.

Gramsci's death remains inexplicable, especially if account is taken of the time when it took place. For it happened three days after the expiration of his sentence which had been reduced by the general and special amnesties, and he had the right to go free, to call trusted friends and doctors, to undergo medical treatment, and to receive assistance.

In the year 1924 Mussolini gave the order to his hired bandits to kill Matteotti because the latter's active struggle in parliament affected the sense of justice and the thirst for liberty among the masses of the people, and was a menace at a particularly difficult moment for the fascist regime. In precisely the same way he ordered the assassination of Amendolu and Hobetti. In the same way, on his orders, Gaston Socci was murdered in prison. In precisely the same way he cynically gave orders for the murder of hundreds of others of the best sons of the Italian people. Murder is the normal method of rule adopted by the fascist dictatorship.

In murdering Gramsci with the most inhuman and refined cruelty, Mussolini and fascism knew whom they were murdering and why. In Antonio Gramsci, the Italian people had found not only a man who, with a thorough knowledge of history and the living conditions of the people, expressed the aspirations of the popular masses, gave expression to the strivings of the oppressed after liberty, justice and social emancipation. Antonio Gramsci was able to distinguish the class forces in present-day Italy to which the historic task belongs of liberating the whole of society from all oppression and exploitation.

Antonio Gramsci not only excelled all contemporary Italians by the acuteness of his brain, by his clarity and by the profundity of his political and social thinking, but he was a revolutionary who had profoundly mastered the most revolutionary of social and political principles, those of Marxism-Leninism. He was closely connected with the working class, an indefatigable fighter for the establishment of a revolutionary class party of the proletariat. He was a Marxist, Leninist and Bolshevik.

Consequently the attitude of the reactionary bourgeoisie and Mussolini toward him was not only as toward an enemy, but as toward a most dangerous and terrible one. They felt no peace as long as Gramsci lived, as long as "his brain still functioned," as long as his thoughts and will still acted, as long as his heart continued to beat. His murder was committed for the definite purpose of depriving the Communist Party, the proletariat, the people of our country, of a well educated, energetic and reliable leader.

Antonio Gramsci was the first real, all-around, consistent Marxist in the history of the Italian working class movement, in the history of Italian culture and Italian thought. He was the first to grasp thoroughly the revolutionary principles of the founders of scientific socialism. He was the first to master the further development of Marxism by Lenin and Stalin. He was the first to determine the historic task of the Italian proletariat on the basis of these principles. Gramsci was Italy's first Marxist, for in him theory was indissolubly bound up with revolutionary practice, and the study and interpretation of social facts linked up with the masses and everyday political and organizational work; for he it was who created the Communist Party and led it; for he was an internationalist; for he fell, firmly holding high the banner of our Party and of the Communist International.

Now, after his death, many of those who during his life fought violently against him and against whom he fought violently are writing about him and praising him. We have no grounds for rejecting praises rendered to the greatness of our comrade's heart and mind. However, it is our duty to say aloud and firmly that Gramsci was no "intellectual," no "man of science," no "writer," in the sense which some of those lauding him now that he is dead would like to convey. Gramsci was and re-

mained first and foremost a *Party member*. The question of the Party, the question of the creation of a revolutionary organization of the working class capable of leading the struggle of the whole of the proletariat and working people for their emancipation, this question was the central point of all the activities, the whole life, and all the thoughts of Antonio Gramsci.

He entered the working class movement while still quite a young man, approximately in 1910, at a time when the elements of a profound political crisis were maturing in our country. From 1900 onwards the industrial development of Italy had proceeded at a rapid pace, while in the valley plain of the Po the progress of capitalist intensive agriculture was changing the appearance of entire regions. In the big industrial centers of Northern Italy, out of the masses of lowly artisans and small shopkeepers, there grew up a proletariat strong in numbers and its ranks united, which set up a close network of working class political and trade union organizations and learned to wield the weapon of the strike against the bourgeoisie.

At the same time, in the valley plain of the Po the formation of an imposing mass of agricultural proletarians upset the traditional social and political basis of Italy. With the development of big agricultural enterprises of the capitalist type, the peasants of Northern Italy became transformed into an army of workers, and a close network of working class organizations spread a new revolutionary spirit right out to the most backward provinces. The mass of agricultural workers became the chief forces operating in a whole number of large-scale strikes.

The state apparatus shook under this pressure of these organized masses.

Gramsci was born on the Island of Sardinia in a region where social and economic relations were typically backward. A son of poor peasants, he was able to observe the horrible poverty of the semi-proletarian agriculturists and shepherds of the island. The poverty of the peasants of Sardinia and of Southern Italy was one of the conditions requisite for the industrial development of the North. The resources and natural wealth of the island were plundered by the capitalists of the mainland, while the spontaneous uprisings which broke out from time to time among the starving peasants were put down by force of arms.

With a view to entrenching their power, the capitalist bourgeoisie entered into an alliance with the big landowners and the parasitical rural bourgeoisie, which had grown up under the wing of the big feudal type of landowners. This special form of class alliance between the industrial bourgeoisie of Upper Italy and the reactionary castes of the South left a specifically reactionary imprint upon Italian political life even at the time when the ruling classes were compelled, under pressure from the masses, to recognize freedom of organization for the working people, freedom of labor and of strikes; and when, on the eve of the world war, they were forced to introduce universal suffrage.

The Socialist movement grew up and developed in Italy as a powerful protest against the regime of reaction, arbitrary government and complete disfranchisement of the working people. It was, therefore, of a broad people's character and was supported by intellectuals of petty-bourgeois origin and even by the radical elements of the bourgeoisie who were suffering from the backwardness of the economic and political life of the country.

It should have been the task of the Socialist leaders to ensure that the working class led this broad popular movement and in the process of consistent struggle against reaction and for democratic liberties to enable it to become the leading political force, the leader of the oppressed and exploited masses. The Socialist leaders failed to fulfil this task. Even the best of them, those who were in contact with the masses, who felt their sufferings and aspirations and hated the bourgeoisie, even they did not

fulfil this task. By reason of their failure to understand the essence of the principles of Marxism they were never able to go beyond impotent and sentimental revolutionary phrasemongering. Leaders of the Turati type, who had broken with Marxism, caught in the mire of petty-bourgeois revisionism, apprenticed the working class to the liberals and democrats; they strove meanwhile to harness the working class movement to the chariot of the capitalist state.

In his polemics against Turati, Treves and other pillars of social reformism, Gramsci repeatedly expressed his deep indignation at the manner in which these leaders ideologically perverted the masses.

Gramsci was able to begin and accomplish the necessary work of introducing Marxism in our country first and foremost thanks to the close and indissoluble connection established between himself and the working class when he arrived in Turin from Sardinia in the year 1911. There the young Sardinian revolutionary underwent his apprenticeship with the young, well-developed, united proletariat of Turin, who during the big metal workers' strikes even before the war displayed astonishing examples of organization, militancy and discipline, and stood out as the most advanced and class-conscious section of the working class in the whole country.

"It can be said that Italy has three capitals: Rome—the administrative center of the bourgeois state; Milan (all the banks, and all the offices and organs of finance are concentrated in Milan)—the nerve center of the commercial and financial life of the country, and, finally, Turin—the center where industrial production is most highly developed. The proletariat of Turin headed . . . the spiritual life of the Italian working masses who are linked up with the town by all kinds of ties: ties of origin, family, tradition, history, and even spiritual ties (every Italian worker entertains a keen desire to work in Turin)."

Antonio Gramsci's ties with the workers of Turin were not only political, but personal, physical, direct and varied. Gramsci joined the Left wing of the Socialist movement a few months after Italy entered the war in 1915. Placed at the head of the editorial board of the newspaper of the Turin section of the Socialist Party, Gramsci rapidly occupied a special place in the revolutionary movement of Turin as well. For the reformists, who in Turin also controlled a considerable number of the leading posts in the proletarian organizations, the working masses only served as a foothold for their policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, a policy which they pursued during the war as well. True, the revolutionaries who were in the majority in Turin fought against the reformists. But they failed to pursue a policy which differed from the centrist policy of the party leadership, expressed in the notorious formula: "Don't join in the war and don't sabotage it"—a formula which observed an outward show of decency before the masses and at the same time made it possible for the reformists to do all kinds of reformist and social-patriotic damage.

Gramsci tried to learn from the masses. He regarded the worker in modern, concentrated, large-scale industry as a force capable of solving all the problems of Italian society, as the "Hero of modern Italian history."

How will the working class be able to carry out its historic mission? Gramsci devoted his thought to this question well before and during the war. He realized that wide masses of workers, roused to activity as a result of the war, and making a stormy entry onto the arena of political life, would imperatively demand the satisfaction of their needs, and that the traditional apparatus of bourgeois power would not withstand this onslaught. The proletariat must know how to create a new apparatus of public power, and that apparatus could not be either the trade unions or the other already existing working class organizations. A new organization was necessary which would embody the will and ability of the proletariat to seize power, organ-

lize a new state, a new society. This is how Gramsci came to raise in a concrete fashion "the question of the hegemony of the proletariat, *i.e.*, of the social basis of the proletarian dictatorship and the working class state."

It was then that he concentrated his attention on the factories and works, on the forms of the class struggle and on the new organizations established by the workers in the factories during the war, and which differ from the trade unions in their ability to conduct a wider struggle. Gramsci became the most popular and most beloved of the Socialist leaders in Turin. Around him there gathered the youth, there gathered the most developed and active workers not only among the Socialists, but also among the Anarchists and Catholics. The room in the premises of the city's working class organization where he worked, the garret where he dwelt, soon became a place of constant pilgrimage. He was talked of in the factories as a new leader. And indeed, a *new* type of leader made his appearance in the Italian working class movement at that time—a leader who knew how to learn from the masses, who worked out the revolutionary policy of the working class in direct contact with the masses.

A decisive stimulus to the shaping of Gramsci's thoughts and the development of his revolutionary activities was given at that time by the Russian revolution, Bolshevism and Lenin.

"The news regarding the Russian March (February) revolution was received in Turin with indescribable joy," wrote Gramsci. "The workers wept with emotion when they learned that the tsarist regime had been overthrown by the workers of Petrograd. But they did not allow themselves to be lulled by the demagogic phraseology of Kerensky and the Mensheviks. When in July, 1917, a delegation arrived in Turin, sent to Western Europe by the Petrograd Soviet which at that time was under the leadership of the Mensheviks and S.Rs. to agitate in favor of the war, the members of the delegation, Smirnov and Goldenberg, as they spoke to a crowd 25,000 strong, were greeted with deafening cries: 'Long live Comrade Lenin! Long live the Bolsheviks!' . . ."

It should not be forgotten that this demonstration took place after the suppression of the July demonstration in Petrograd, when the capitalist press was inundated with articles full of outrageous slander against Lenin and the Bolsheviks.

". . . From the day when Italy first entered the war (May 24, 1915), until the above-mentioned demonstration, the proletariat of Turin did not arrange any mass meetings. . . . Hardly had a month passed when the Turin workers rose up in arms against Italian imperialism and militarism. The uprising began on August 23, 1917. For five days the workers fought on the streets and city square. The insurgents, armed with rifles, hand bombs and machine-guns, managed to occupy several districts of the town. Three or four times they tried to gain possession of the center of the town where there were the civil institutions and military headquarters. . . . But in vain they hoped for the support of the soldiers; the soldiers allowed themselves to be deceived by the lying slander spread that the uprising was the work of the Germans.

"The crowd threw up big barricades, dug pitfalls, surrounded the district which they had occupied with electrically charged wire entanglements, and for five days beat off the attacks of the troops and police. Over 500 workers fell in battle. Over 2,000 were severely wounded. And after the defeat the best proletarian elements were arrested and sent out of Turin. When the uprising ended the revolutionary intensity of the movement waned, but the sympathies of the masses as formerly belonged to Communism."

Immediately after the August events, Gramsci was elected secretary of the Turin branch of the Socialist Party. He was openly recognized the proletarian leader of the Reddest town in Italy. This was a recognition of the outstanding role he had played in the revolutionary education of the Turin workers.

After the time of the Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences Gramsci took particular care to acquaint himself and secure contact with the revolutionary elements of the international working class movement and first and foremost with the Russian Bolsheviks. It was not easy to carry out this task in Europe of the war period, when frontiers had been made into almost impassable barriers. Gramsci's table was loaded with illegal revolutionary publications which arrived from all countries, and in all the languages of the world. The works of Lenin, the documents of the Bolshevik Party were much sought after; they were awaited with passionate impatience; they were translated, read and discussed collectively; they were explained and distributed round the factories. And the heart and soul of this work was Gramsci. From the works of Lenin there came a new word, a word which the Italian workers had been waiting for and which inspired them in their tremendous battles of the post-war period.

Marxist principles, rid of opportunist distortions, once again stood out in their true light as the principles of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The work and activity of Lenin, the experience of Bolshevism and the great socialist revolution in Russia opened up concrete prospects before the Italian workers of the solution of the problems which confronted them at the end of the war.

Gramsci was the first in Italy to understand the international significance of Bolshevism and the great October socialist revolution.

"The Bolsheviks," he wrote in the year 1919, "have endowed with a state form the historical and social experience of Russian proletariat, which is the experience of the international . . . working class. . . . The Soviet state has become the state of the whole of the Russian people, ad this has been achieved thanks to the doggedness and persistence of the Communist Party, to the ardent faith and loyalty of the workers, thanks to the zealous, incessant propaganda work of enlightenment and education performed by the Russian Communists under the leadership of the clear and straightforward will of our common teacher—Lenin."

Using the great experience of the October Revolution, Antonio Gramsci raised in all its magnitude before the Italian workers the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the main content of Marxism.

The words "dictatorship of the proletariat" had even disappeared in the first Italian edition of the works of Karl Marx. In the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, the reformist translators had taken care to replace these words by the innocent expression "class war of the proletariat."

Antonio Labriola, who popularized the ideas of Marx, talked of the dictatorship of the proletariat as an "educative government of society" after power has been won by the working class. But Antonio Labriola was incapable of understanding and explaining what exactly was the meaning of this expression either in the general sense or as applied to Italian society and the Italian workers. For him the expression "dictatorship of the proletariat" remained a nebulous conception "of political philosophy." Later the "theoreticians" of syndicalism gave the title "dictatorship of the proletariat" to their raids on the premises of the reformist trade unions carried through by them with a view to forcing the trade union organizations to engage in "strike gymnastics" without any preparations or prospects of victory.

After the victory of the October Revolution, the Socialist Party introduced the thesis of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" into its program. But while Turati declared that the Soviets as compared to the parliamentary republic are as a crowd of people compared to a town, while people in the Socialist Party who called themselves revolutionaries were incapable of understanding how the task of carrying on a concrete struggle to establish the proletarian dictatorship should express itself, Gramsci wrote:

"While the formula 'dictatorship of the proletariat' is directed against opportunists like Turati, as well as against the revolutionary phrasemongering of centrists like Serrati and gibbering monkeys like Bombacci, it must cease to be a mere formula, a mere pretext for uttering revolutionary phrases. He who accepts the aim has also to use the means. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the establishment of a new state, the state of the proletariat. . . . Such a state is not improvised: the Russian Communists, the Bolsheviks, worked for eight months to spread the slogan of 'All power to the Soviets' while the Russian workers knew of the Soviets as far back as in 1905. The Italian Communists must utilize the Russian experience and save time and labor."

Thanks to the fact that Gramsci had before this studied the forms of organization of the working class and the class struggle in the factories, he directly linked up the question of the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat with the question of the creation of a new type of organization to embody the struggle of the workers for power and to become the basis of the proletarian state.

The works' committees arose during the war at the initiative of the trade unions, their purpose being to defend the workers against the employers. Breaking away from the direct control of the trade unions, the works' committees developed into independent organizations elected by and representing all the workers. This transformation was accelerated in connection with the general conditions in which the post-war crisis placed the working class, stimulating in them the consciousness of the need to fight for power.

Gramsci was at the head of the movement of the works' councils, the newspaper *Ordine Nuovo* (The New Order) founded by him on May 1, 1919, being the organ of this movement.

Few of the old Socialist leaders understood the significance of the movement of the works' councils, and accused Gramsci of converting the works' councils into the hub of the struggle for power and of avoiding the question of the party and its leading role. Actually Gramsci was fully aware even in 1917 that the Italian Socialist Party, in which reformists, centrists and impotent demagogues ruled the roost, was incapable of leading the struggle of the Italian proletariat for power. At the same time he understood that in the post-war situation in Italy, the struggle for power must not be put off, otherwise the road would be open for the blackest reaction.

"The present phase of the class struggle in Italy," he wrote, "represents a phase which precedes either the conquest of political power by the revolutionary proletariat for the purpose of making a transition to new methods of production and distribution, or else terrible reaction on the part of the propertied classes and ruling castes."

What was needed was rapid action. For Gramsci the main question was that of speed. Rapid action, however, required that the struggle for power be not "put off" until the next phase, while for the time being engaging in the organization of a new revolutionary party, but what was needed was the solution at one and the same time of the question of the party, *i.e.*, the question of the political leadership of the whole movement by the vanguard of the proletariat and the question of organizing wider masses of industrial workers and working people generally in the forms necessary for the struggle for power.

The revolutionary energy which filled the masses during the post-war crisis was so great that Gramsci was convinced that it permitted the solution of both these questions at one and the same time. Gramsci himself admitted subsequently that certain formulations in which he expressed his thoughts in the years 1919-20 were not sufficiently precise. The creation and development of the works' councils were connected in his mind with the creation and development of a network of political organizations, *i.e.*, "Communist groups" capable both of leading the works' council movement and of radical-

ly renewing the Socialist Party, by revolutionizing its structure, its methods of work, its everyday activities and its political line. The development of the works' councils was thus to have led at one and the same tme to the hegemony of the working class in the country and to the supremacy of the proletarian revolutionary elements in the Socialist Party. This took place only in Turin.

In Turin and those parts where Gramsci's influence extended the works' council movement took on a general and forward character. The reformists were driven out of the trade union leadership, the centrists from the leadership of party branches. A life and death struggle broke out between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and in that struggle the workers reached the threshold of rebellion. In April, 1920, on the basis of the struggle against attempts by the employers to crush the works' council movement, there developed under the direct leadership of Gramsci, the most tremendous movement seen in post-war Italy, the general political strike of the city proletariat which lasted for eleven days. This strike rapidly merged with a strike of the agricultural workers in the adjacent provinces and with a solidarity movement which spread and assumed an increasingly menacing character. That movement was crushed (by agreement with the government) by the reformist bosses of the General Confederation of Labor, supported by the leaders of the Socialist Party who called themselves revolutionaries.

The Left elements of the Socialist Party rejected Gramsci's proposal for the conclusion of an agreement to undertake joint action and give leadership to the revolutionary movement throughout the country over the heads of the party leaders who had wavered and were ever ready to capitulate to the reformists. This proposal was also rejected by Bordiga on the pretext that they ought to wait for an authoritative congress of the party before settling accounts with the reformists and centrists. Bordiga, who stood at the head of the "abstentionist" faction (*i.e.*, who favored the boycott of parliament), gave himself the airs of a "super-revolutionary," but actually approached the problems of the revolution with the yardstick of a pedant, hiding his opportunism behind a Left doctrinaire mask. It was no accident that this "super-revolutionary" became the friend of the fascist Trotsky and openly capitulated to the fascist Mussolini.

The movement of the workers' councils has gone down in the history of the Italian working class movement as the biggest attempt of the proletariat to establish their hegemony in the struggle of the masses of the people against the power of the bourgeoisie and for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"After establishing the workers' dictatorship, and taking possession of the industrial enterprises and banks, the proletariat will use the enormous power of state organization to support the peasants in their struggle against the landlords, against poverty. They will provide the peasants with credits, establish cooperatives, ensure the safety of persons and property against robbers, and undertake expenditure on public health and irrigation works at the expense of the state. The proletariat will do all this because they are interested in the increase of agricultural production; because they are interested in winning and maintaining the solidarity of the peasantry; because they are interested in industry working on behalf of peace and fraternity between town and country, between the North and South."

In this tremendous plan to reorganize the economy of Italy, the working class of our country assumes the role of the first and only class to solve all the problems left unsolved by the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois revolution, by destroying all forms of exploitation, poverty and oppression.

That is why in his speech at the Second Congress of the Comintern on the conditions of acceptance into the Communist International, Lenin said:

"We simply have to tell the Italian comrades that the direction of the members of the *Ordine Nuovo*, and not of the present majority of the leaders of the Socialist Party and their parliamentary group, corresponds to the direction of the Communist International." (Vol. XXV, p. 360, Russ. Ed.)

In the theses of the congress, the political platform entitled "For the Renewal of the Socialist Party," written by Gramsci and approved by the Turin branch of the Socialist Party, was regarded as a document which should be made the basis of the forthcoming congress of the Communist Party of Italy.

But the *Ordine Nuovo* movement was not represented at the congress, and this fact alone shows that there was a substantial shortcoming in the methods of struggle used by it to create a party.

The essence of the mistake consisted in the fact that the *Ordine Nuovo* did not openly set itself the task of creating a faction in the Socialist Party on a national scale. In Turin it had the backing of a big mass movement, whereas in the remaining centers of the country it was limited to personal contacts. The reformists had control of the central apparatus of the Confederation of Labor and the trade union federations, cooperatives, a large part of the municipalities, and their own parliamentary group; the centrists had the apparatus of the party and their big daily newspaper *Avanti*, while the "abstentionists" created a network of factional groups which covered almost the whole of Italy and had strong support in the leadership of the youth federation. Gramsci on the other hand had a daily newspaper at his full disposal for only a few months before the split.

Lenin pointed out that in Italy it was essential to concentrate the line of fire against the centrists, who were intoxicated by "revolutionary" phrases and at the same time took the reformists under their protection and paralyzed the movement of the masses, actually placing the party at the service of the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie. The split, as a result of which the Communist Party came into being in Leghorn in 1921, was the result of a particularly sharp struggle against the centrists. This struggle required unity among all the Left-wing groups, and Gramsci acted correctly in helping to bring about this unity. However, already at the Second Congress of the Comintern, Lenin sharply criticized Bordiga, who threatened to transform the new party into a sect divorced from the masses. Although Bordiga joined the Third International, it was part of his intention as far back as the year 1920 to establish a faction in the Comintern together with the Dutch, German and other "Leftists," in order to conduct a struggle against Lenin and the Bolshevik Party.

From the very beginning deep differences existed between Gramsci and Bordiga. But out of a fear of getting mixed up with the Right elements, Gramsci made the mistake of taking no measures publicly to disassociate himself from Bordiga while acting together with him against the reformists and centrists. He was unable, at that time and during the early days of the existence of the Communist Party, to conduct a *struggle on two fronts.*

This mistake cost our Party very dearly; for it gave Bordiga an opportunity of using the disappointment and pessimism which took hold of a section of the proletarian vanguard after the seizure of the factories in September, 1920, had ended in failure as a result of the treachery of the reformists, to inflict upon the Communist Party a sectarian, anti-Leninist policy which reduced its ability to undertake political action and facilitated the progress of fascism.

Gramsci's sojourn for a year in the Soviet Union (between the years 1922 and 1923) gave him an opportunity of deepening his knowledge of Bolshevism. He then made a thoroughgoing study of the history of the Russian revolution, learned to understand Lenin and became steeled as leader of the Party.

The working class of Italy have to thank him for the creation of their

Party, the Communist Party, not as a sect of petty-bourgeois doctrinaires, but as the organized vanguard of the working class, as a mass party closely connected with its class, capable of leading it in the most complicated political situation.

It was not an easy task for Gramsci to achieve the purging of the ranks of the Party from that special form of opportunism which Bordiga hid behind his pseudo-radical phraseology. It was necessary to begin with the patient work of re-educating individually the Party members who had fallen victims to sectarianism, to form new Bolshevik cadres, to convince people, to overcome resistance, vacillation and lack of confidence. This was all the more difficult since a struggle had to be conducted against such a type as Bordiga, who never hesitated to resort to the most filthy intrigues and demagogy, and who, subsequently, stooped to the role of Trotskyist traitor of the foulest kind, and lackey of Mussolini.

In the struggle to root Bordigism out of the Party Gramsci displayed exceptional activity. One might say that he won the Party cadres back again one at a time. And the whole Party which, after the advent of fascism to power, fell into a state of dangerous stupor, was aroused and re-educated by means of systematic work to make it Bolshevist.

This is the period of the works of Gramsci devoted, in the main, to an explanation of theoretical questions regarding the nature of the party, its strategy, tactics, and organization, in which there is most strongly to be felt the profound influence exerted on him by Stalin's works. In particular Gramsci smashed the counter-revolutionary Bordigan "theory" which considered that all work to give the Party members an ideological and political education was futile because, as he asserted, in such a "centralized" party as the Communist Party it is important only to take orders from above; and so Gramsci began stubborn work to create cadres.

"If our Party is to live with the masses and maintain contact with them," he wrote, "it is essential for every Party member to be an active political element, a leader. It is precisely because the Party is strictly centralized that agitational and propagandist work on a broad scale is necessary in its ranks. It is necessary for the Party to educate its members and raise their ideological level in an organized fashion. Centralization means, in particular, that in any situation, even under conditions of severe martial law, even when the leading committees cannot function for a definite period of time, or find themselves unable to maintain contacts with the local Party organizations, all the Party members, each in his own sphere, should be able to find their bearings . . . so that the working class will not be discouraged, but will feel that it is being guided and that it can still carry on the struggle. Consequently, ideological training of the masses is an essential requirement of revolutionary struggle. It is one of the conditions essential for victory."

The best cadres of the Italian Communist Party, the heroic fighters whom fascism has thrown into penal settlements in their thousands, those iron men who have never flinched in the face of threats, persecution, torture and death, were educated in the Bolshevik spirit by Antonio Gramsci.

But what not only convinced the whole Party, not only aroused its enthusiasm and brought the Party to rally to him and deliver a mortal blow against counter-revolutionary Bordigism, was the political activity developed by Gramsci as the leader of the Party after his return to Italy during the Matteotti crisis.

The conditions of the struggle were very hard. The party—which Bordiga had persuaded that the victory of fascism was an impossible thing and that fascism "is in no way different from bourgeois democracy"—was demoralized and weary after enduring the cruel blows of living realities. On the other hand, fascism was undergoing great difficulties. It had not yet managed to se-

cure complete control of the state apparatus, while the petty-bourgeois masses, whose interests were affected and were disillusioned by the policy pursued by Mussolini in favor of the big *industrial bourgeoisie*, were dissatisfied, grumbled and more and more openly opposed him.

The wise and bold tactics pursued by the Communist Party after the murder of Matteotti were drawn up by Gramsci down to the last detail: the exit from parliament together with the democratic opposition groups immediately after the crime; the proposal made at the general meeting of the opposition to declare a general strike (a proposal rejected with horror by the democratic leaders who wanted to overthrow fascism by refusing to take part in parliamentary work and by conducting a campaign in the press!); the proposal which followed to organize an "anti-parliament" of opposition groups and a "taxation strike by the peasantry"; finally, the return of the Communists to parliament for the purpose of using the tribune of parliament to unmask the crimes of fascism and prove the impotence of the democratic and liberal anti-fascists.

These tactics based upon the principles of Lenin and Stalin, according to which the masses must be given leadership on the basis of their own experience, placed the Communists in the vanguard of the struggle to overthrow the fascist dictatorship and made it easier for the Party to win over to its side broad sections of the working people who had supported the democratic parties and Social-Democracy; they laid the foundations for an alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry; they brought the Party out of its state of isolation, and advanced it along the road of transformation into a mass party.

This energetic political action stirred up the whole Party and the working class. A new period of Gramsci's activities began, short but extremely important, as it characterizes the growing influence of the Communists despite the ferocious struggle conducted against them by the Social-Democrats, despite cruel persecution at the hands of the fascists.

The source of the prestige which our Party enjoys among the Italian masses should be sought for in this period. Taught by the experience of the years 1917-1920, when the correct political treatment by the Turin Communists of the problems of the proletarian revolution proved in itself to be sufficient to transfer the leadership of the revolutionary movement to them, Gramsci took care to organize the influence of the Party. He did this not only by formulating correct slogans which coincided with the demands of the masses, but also by pursuing a corresponding policy towards the various political groupings with a basis among the working people (especially in the villages), and by encouraging the development in their midst of opposition currents which aimed at an alliance with the working class.

This is also the period of the successfully conducted work directed towards bringing the Catholic trade unions closer to the unions affiliated to the General Confederation of Labor, and towards winning over Left elements in the Catholic peasant organizations to the side of the revolutionary alliance of workers and peasants. Thus it was that the reactionary influence of the Vatican was dealt its first serious blow.

During this period the Party, at Gramsci's initiative, adopted one of the basic demands of the peasantry of the South: recognizing as justifiable the struggle of the Southern population for autonomy which would break the chains imposed upon them by the bourgeois state. The problem of the rights of oppressed nationalities to self-determination and the problem of Sardinia were raised in the Communist Party's agitational work. All the burning questions of life in our country found an answer in Gramsci's propaganda and political agitation.

The struggle against fascism passed beyond the bounds of verbal protests and demonstrations. It became a real struggle specifically to rally together all sec-

tions of the working population against the most reactionary groups of the bourgeoisie, while at the same time not permitting them to fall or remain under the influence of the bourgeois liberals and democrats, and dragging them from the influence of the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy. Gramsci's central slogan of action became that of *"unity":* unity of the working class, unity of the peasants and workers, unity of the North and South, unity of the whole people against fascism.

Gramsci became the man towards whom the eyes of the masses and all progressive elements in the country were now turned. The old liberal politicians whispered: "Go easy with Gramsci—he is Italy's greatest revolutionary." Mussolini, however, replied to the activities of the Communist Party and the masses by intensifying the terror and preparing to abolish the last remains of democratic liberties.

During the last few months before his arrest, and even before then, before the Lyons Congress of the Communist Party of Italy, at which Bordiga was politically defeated and the overwhelming majority of the Party rallied to Gramsci, as to their own leader, Gramsci pointed out to us the need for joining the fascist mass organizations in order to make use of all the possibilities for legal work and struggle, in order to maintain contact with the masses and organize the struggle of the workers and peasants. Our mistake was that we did not value to a sufficient degree the proposals he put forward at that time. This hampered the development of our work and our influence after the complete transition of the Party to illegal conditions.

Gramsci was arrested at the height of his political activity. The Party suffered an irretrievable loss.

With Gramsci's death there has vanished the first Bolshevik of the Italian working class movement.

Physically weak, possessed of an organism terribly deformed by nature, he was a man of an incomparable fighting mold. He radiated revolutionary energy, and spiritual clarity and optimism.

But though divorced from active revolutionary work when thrown into prison, he could not but continue the fight. Even in prison, his existence over a period of ten years was one of uninterrupted struggle not only against his hated jailers, in defense of his own existence, but also a struggle to be able to direct those comrades with whom he was able to have some sort of contact, a struggle to conduct educational work among them, to help even from prison in the creation of Party cadres and in the solution of new problems advanced by the situation in Italy.

Even when his strength was exhausted and the fascist butchers raged against him in their endeavor to weaken not only his body, but his spirit, he never lost the serenity and worthiness of a revolutionary and served as an example to all comrades. At a time when his physical condition was particularly serious, he was told that he could be released if he would apply personally to Mussolini with a request to be pardoned. Gramsci replied:

"The proposal made to me means suicide. I have not the slightest desire to commit suicide."

The proud words of the dying leader of the Communist Party were passed from mouth to mouth throughout the prisons, raising the spirits of the prisoners and filling them with hatred against the fascist jailers.

As long as he was given an opportunity of meeting with his comrades during "exercise," he devoted these hours to collective studies and the prison became a Party school where the Communists studied the principles of Leninism, learned to analyze the forces and conditions of the proletarian revolution in Italy and to solve the political and organizational problems of the Party.

When the barriers raised around him became more and more impenetrable, he sent his comrades short energetic and concisely expressed messages. These messages gave his comrades their direction

and were to help the whole Party to find its bearings.

In the year 1929 he gave instructions for us to be told the following: "Pay attention to the movement of the workers' stewards in the fascist trade unions," thereby desiring once again to turn our attention to the importance of work inside the mass fascist organizations.

In 1930, when he learned that a number of the imprisoned comrades were in danger of falling under the influence of Trotskyism, not being in a condition to hold long discussions he spread throughout the prisons a short but expressive slogan: "Trotsky is the *puttana* (a popular word meaning prostitute) of fascism."

Recently, when he heard of the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, he exerted all his thoughts to the discovery of forms of bringing about the anti-fascist People's Front in Italy. He cautioned us not to get divorced from the people and from the masses, but to make a deep study of the consequences of the policy of fascism for the different sections of the population and in different parts of the country, so as to be able to find and apply slogans which would give us an opportunity of getting in touch with the masses of our country.

During the last weeks of his life he must certainly have had news of the heroic struggle of the Spanish people against fascism. Perhaps he learned that in Spain, the fighters of the battalion which bears the name of Giuseppe Garibaldi, the best sons of the Italian people —Communists, Socialists, democrats and anarchists—united in the ranks of the People's Army of republican Spain, had inflicted the first serious defeat on Italian fascsim and Mussolini at Guadalajara. If this information reached him, he most certainly smiled and his agony was illumined by a ray of hope.

The vanguard of the Italian people, the Communist Party which he created and which he led in the struggle, will march forward along the road he mapped out, under the banner he held in his hands till the last moment, under the invincible banner of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, and will do so never wavering, carrying out his behests, until the final victory has been won of the cause of liberty and peace, of the cause of the political and social emancipation of the toilers, of the cause of socialism.

Why Did the Largo Caballero Government Resign? *

BY JESUS HERNANDEZ

ON MAY 9, Jose Diaz, General Secretary of the Communist Party, outlined to all the working people the causes of our disagreement with the methods and policy pursued by the then existing government.

Comrade Diaz explained our revolutionary line, showed the indissoluble connection that exists between the war and the people's revolution, and outlined the conditions required to win the war. At the same time Diaz publicly expressed the fear that the Largo Caballero government would not carry out these conditions, in spite of all our insistence.

Fully convinced that we are expressing the will of the huge majority of the Spanish people, we demanded the fulfilment of the conditions we have so often advanced. And since the Largo Caballero government had no intention of fulfilling them, we firmly declared that it could no longer remain in power, for it did not express the will of the people.

Our struggle against Largo Caballero's policy in the government was not of a personal character, but was a struggle for the conduct of the correct political line against the fatal, narrowly personal policy that was incapable of leading us to victory over the enemy and, in consequence, harmful to the interests of the people.

When our Party entered the government, it did so in all honesty, and confident that there were men in the Council of Ministers who, though they represented various organizations, various political currents, were united by the one wish, inspired by the one common desire, namely, to win the war. We cast aside all that could engender differences of opinion or discontent inside the government; we wanted all to follow the program which expresses the aspirations of the people and aims at crushing fascism and winning freedom for all the Spanish people. But we were mistaken.

With the very first session of the Council of Ministers squabbles began. While all citizens are living with the one thought of the war, are making sacrifices and giving up everything they have to gain the victory, in the Council of Ministers, on the contrary, where eighteen citizens had come together representing the political parties and trade union organizations, nobody was allowed to speak about the war. When we made timid attempts to raise the question of the war, we were told that it was the private business of the President of the Council of Ministers. If any minister made persistent efforts to obtain information about the progress of the war, the President of the Council answered that he could find out all about it in the press. Comrade Huribet and I and, I take it, all the ministers with any sense of dignity, left these meetings filled with indignation. I was filled with anger and shame when comrades talked with me about events and asked for explanations

* Report of Comrade Hernandez, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Spain, delivered at a meeting in Valencia on May 28, 1937. The report is given in a somewhat abridged form as printed in the *Frento Rojo* of May 29 and 31.

and advice, while I could give them no reply. If I heard of these events it was not due to my position as minister, but because my Party, which is well informed on the course of events, kept me informed.

This was intolerable.

Instead of seeing in the People's Front government the expression of the collective will of the parties and organizations constituting it, instead of uniting all efforts to hasten on victory, using the experience and help of each minister in solving various problems, and taking up and encouraging the initiative displayed by the ministers, Caballero arbitrarily declared himself to be the only person responsible for the whole of the government's policy. And woe betide the minister who demanded discussions on the problems of the war or who engaged in questions not directly related to his own department!

If these fundamental problems were tentatively raised in the press or at a meeting for the purpose of drawing in the masses of the people to help solve them, Caballero regarded this correct and democratic form of action as an attack on his policy, as an act of "disloyalty," as a desire to overthrow him. It is clear that such methods could not scare our Party. Our Party publicly raised these problems, and in public documents outlined the conditions which must be fulfilled to rally all resources, material and human, to hasten on the victorious outcome of the war.

Caballero's hatred of our Party developed uninterruptedly until it broke out in a rough form, in the famous document known as the manifesto about "reptiles and snakes." This manifesto was the signal for the beginning of a furious campaign against the Communists which aimed at removing them from leading posts in the army, the supply department, industry, public institutions, etc., in order to crush the Communist Party, the creator of the People's Front and chief guarantee of victory and of the gains of the people's revolution.

Which policy was correct: the policy of the Communist Party or that which Largo Caballero wanted to force upon us?

WHOSE POLICY PROVED TO BE CORRECT?

Facts have gone to prove that our Party was right, that our Party's policy and not the narrow personal policy of self-assumed power as desired by Largo Caballero was the only correct one.

All and everything for victory!—this is our Party's central slogan which the Communists are consistently operating.

However, not only did Caballero not conduct the right war policy; he had no political line at all, he wanted to replace it by his own personal will.

Because of the personal line adopted by its President, the Largo Caballero government had no clear perspectives for solving the problems of the war, but acted blindfold, urged on by events.

It only needed a partial victory to be won on one of the fronts, for Caballero and his henchmen immediately to shout it from the housetops. It only needed a partial defeat to be suffered for them to begin feeling pessimistic about the war, for them to give up hope and begin talking about the country and the whole world being ruined. Being without a clear perspective for the future, Caballero was not in a position to rally all the resources, material and human, that were capable of offering resistance to the enemy's forces and destroying them.

The most talented person in the world cannot solve all problems by himself and estimate all sides of a situation. Our Party adheres to the method of collective work and collective leadership. This is the only method which can remove the defects and shortcomings of individual leadership. Consequently our ministers rejected the arbitrary methods of Caballero who, what is more, approached all questions in an extremely narrow and petty fashion.

His activities in the War Ministry proved him to be shortsighted and lacking in understanding of the most elementary problems of military and political tactics and strategy. Through lending an ear

to wrong advice from his collaborators, he could never understand the changes in the situation at the fronts and in the rear; consequently he was unable to adopt the necessary measures to correspond to the new demands of the war. And when our Party raised these problems, Caballero became indignant, protested, would not solve them and, worse still, tried to deceive others, while at the same time deceiving himself by assuring us that all had already been provided for and decided.

We are not making a personal attack on Francisco Largo Caballero. We only blame him for his mistaken line, his thoughtless political conception, for the consequences of which we are all now paying. This it is for which we place responsibility on Largo Caballero.

Wonderful things happened with the former President of the Council of Ministers. Although he had no idea of strategy, he conceitedly imagined himself to be a great military strategist. He asked in astonishment why he was removed from the post of War Minister, he who understood the position so well, the only man capable of guaranteeing victory. I therefore consider it necessary to bring a number of essential facts to prove that this man had no line in his military policy, or, if he had one, it was only one such as led towards losing the war.

A month after the beginning of the war, our Party described it as a difficult and prolonged war for national independence, and pointed to the need for creating the conditions necessary for victory, launching the slogan of a *people's regular army through the introduction of conscription.*

What was the reply of Caballero and his adherents to the initiative displayed by our Party? They reproached us with trying to revive the old army, with establishing new mercenary forces. Who does not remember the articles printed in the *Claridad* of that time, directly inspired by Caballero and furiously attacking the line of our Party?

Whose position was the correct one—that of our Party or of Largo Caballero? The facts we have go to prove that had a regular army been established at the proper time, had reserves been trained systematically, the enemy would not have won so many positions, and we should have saved many lives and much blood.

When the grievous defeats occurred at Talavera, our Party sounded the alarm and raised the question of erecting several lines of fortifications so as to withstand the enemy's offensive several kilometers from Madrid.

What was the reply of Caballero and his friends to this proposal of our Party? First, they accused us of being panicky; then with criminal levity they told us that "Madrid is defended on the River Tajo."

More than two months passed between the time of the operations near Talavera and the fall of Toledo on the one hand, and on the other, the time when the forces of the usurpers swept to the gates of Madrid—an interval more than adequate for the erection of the fortifications necessary for the defense of the capital. Yet this was not done. Why? For the very same reason: incompetence and lack of understanding of the problems raised by the war.

Despite the policy of Caballero, our Party appealed to the people to set about building fortifications. It was the committees of our Party which mobilized tens of thousands of workers to erect fortifications. But they had to work without a single strategic plan; neither the General Staff nor the War Minister wanted to provide this plan. Later, the government began to erect a few fortifications in view of the seriousness of the position; but it was already too late.

Who does not remember how enthusiastically the masses responded to our Party's call, while the government and those whose responsibility it was to run the war, remained deaf to it! Not only did the Largo Caballero government not encourage those who erected the fortifications at their own risk, but regarded them as mutineers because what they

were doing was in contradiction "to the plans of the General Staff." However, the voice of the people grew so loud that it was impossible not to hear it. And only then did the *Claridad*, directly inspired by Largo Caballero, find itself compelled to recognize the necessity of organizing the defense on the basis of a definite plan. In an article published on October 16, the newspaper, which was then Largo Caballero's mouthpiece, wrote:

"Neither is it the time now to advance general slogans; slogans must be very concrete. It is no good saying: 'Trenches must be dug,' but there must first of all be a general plan, drawn up by specialists in accordance with the principles of modern warfare."

This was written three weeks before the government was transferred from Madrid to Valencia. Criminal words! When the enemy is approaching the gates of Madrid, the admission is made that there are not even any plans for its defense! The real fortification work began at the very eleventh hour, when it had become clear that otherwise the enemy would break through to the capital. And this was done not at all on the initiative of the government, but at the instance of the Fifth Regiment, our Party, the united Socialist Youth League and the whole of the working population of Madrid. In order to arrest the offensive of the enemy and provide an opportunity of erecting these fortifications, thousands of our comrades (and I say *ours* because it was the Communists who were the first to organize battalions, to lay down their lives so as to keep back the enemy at Carabancella and other places) had to stand unprotected in open country, a state of affairs which cost us thousands of lives which could otherwise have been saved.

The whole world knows what happened during the tragic days of November 6, 7, and 8, when the government was forced to flee from the capital because it had not foreseen or ensured the proper defense of Madrid.

During those tragic moments, a delegation of representatives of political parties, trade union organizations and the youth, having learned by hearsay of the government's intention to quit the capital, visited Largo Caballero a few hours before his departure. The delegation pointed out that the government could not leave the town in secret without publishing in advance a manifesto to calm the population of the town and explaining the reason for its removal from Madrid, a reason which could be no other than the need to remove to Valencia so as to organize the material and human resources required to defend Madrid; nor could it remove without officially appointing a government committee with full powers.

Do you know how this delegation was received? In a most undeserving fashion. The time of the government's departure was hidden from it; the government quit the capital in dead secret, without informing anybody, handing over the power to General Miaja without any hope that Madrid would stand out against the drive of the enemy. They recorded the transfer of power in a letter, so that later the inconquerable General Miaja should be able. . . . And Miaja, a military man from head to foot, a man little known on the political arena (which does not mean that he is lacking in political acumen), understood his mission. He immediately called together representatives of all political and trade union groups in Madrid, and without losing time set up the committee which was to play such a heroic role and which should have been established before Largo Caballero's government departed.

What a wealth of heroism was displayed during those days! What iron will was displayed by the people's militia and the inhabitants of Madrid, in the defense of the capital! But at the same time what dismay among the masses was caused by this secret unexplained flight of the government. Was the government right in quitting Madrid? Our reply to this is: yes, without a doubt! There is

not the slightest doubt that the government could not lead the policy of the country from a besieged town. But in quitting Madrid, the government was in duty bound to explain the seriousness of the position to the masses, to give them the words of encouragement necessary for the continuation of the struggle. What the government failed to do, our Party had to do.

Instead of drawing the lessons from this correct policy of our Party, the Caballero government occupied itself with drawing up documents which it sent to the commanders of the troops of the central front; in these letters, it heaped its wrath upon the Defense Committee, the commanders and the Communist commissars. Why did it do so? In order to justify its inability or incapability to organize the defense of Madrid.

Largo Caballero opposed the purging of the army command and the establishment of a general staff under the leadership of men loyal to the people and the republic.

Stalin, the brilliant leader of the world proletariat, the great friend of Spain, in his recent speech at the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on the struggle against the Trotskyist traitors and wreckers clearly describes the tragic consequences of the lack of vigilance towards the enemy:

"Several Red Army corps may be necessary to win a battle during war time. But it only needs a few spies somewhere in the army headquarters or even in a divisional staff to steal the plan of operations and pass it on to the enemy for this gain to be lost. Thousands of people are required to build a big railway bridge, but a few people are sufficient to blow it up. Tens and hundreds of such examples could be quoted."*

We persistently spoke about the same thing to the War Minister, although not in such convincing, precise words as those of Comrade Stalin.

Was it not the truth confirmed by our bitter experience of ten months' warfare? Who does not remember the struggle of our Party against organizers of defeat like General Ascencio, or against incompetents like General Cabrera and many others? Our Party pointed to the traitors and the hotbeds of treason. But we were not heeded, with the result that grievous events took place like the fall of Malaga.

THE FALL OF MALAGA WAS THE RESULT OF TREACHERY AND THE INCOMPETENT LEADERSHIP OF THE WAR

The fall of Malaga was the result of *incompetence* and *treachery*. Although the War Minister was aware of all the seriousness of the situation, he was unable or unwilling to take the necessary measures to reorganize the front, to put an end once and for all to the existence of units controlled by the various parties and trade unions, and to create a regular army, to purge the army command into which traitors and flagrantly incompetent persons had found their way, and to provide the army with the means necessary to enable it to withstand the attacks of the enemy. The treacherous commanders, at the first encounter with the enemy, left everything to its fate and surrendered our positions to the enemy. And yet it only needed to fortify somewhat the mountains and gorges surrounding Malaga, and the defense of Malaga would have been ensured.

But the hand of treason, treason known but not punished, continued its work.

Columns of heroic fighters, with no command and no leadership, sacrificed their lives to arrest the advance of a well-equipped enemy. The horrible butchery of thousands of women and children, a massacre which converted the road from Malaga to Motrile into a sea of blood.... You are also all aware of the storm of indignation among our people caused by the fall of Malaga. Do you know the explanation given for this

* Joseph Stalin, *Mastering Bolshevism*, p. 35, Workers Library Publishers, New York. 5 cents.

catastrophe by General Cabrera, then Chief of the General Staff? With the most innocent expression in the world, he said that from the strategic point of view the loss of Malaga was of no importance since, as a result, our front was now shortened. Had I been the War Minister I would have laughed as you do on hearing such an explanation. But within 24 hours this "strategist" would have been swept away.

And when we, and with us the whole of the people, pointed to the traitors and the hotbeds of treason which required to be rooted out, the War Minister told us it was all slander, and demanded proof, proof and again proof. We shall now give him proof, because the story of Malaga will come to the surface, and the traitors will be punished.

On February 14, Valencia witnessed an imposing demonstration of the people. It was a demonstration of their solidarity with the government of the People's Front, which the President of the Council of Ministers wanted to use as an act of solidarity towards himself. But this demonstration was at the same time a warning to the government of the need to make a radical change in its policy of conducting the war and to punish those guilty of the slightest act of treason.

What was the demand of this never-to-be-forgotten demonstration of the people? It demanded that the minimum measures at least be undertaken to ensure victory.

Instead, Caballero used the demonstration to act contrary to the desires of the masses of the people. The people demanded "the establishment of a single command in the army," but Caballero understood single command in the army to be the individual command of the War Minister. Is that a single command? No! Single command means the establishment of a single general staff for all the fronts in Spain, Catalonia and Biscay, united leadership of the whole of the war operations, coordination of operations of all fronts by the general staff. What did Caballero's government do in that direction? Nothing, or almost nothing!

The Valencia demonstration demanded "a purging of all the responsible posts of the army command, and the transfer of the vacated posts to competent persons loyal to our system."

How did the War Minister of the former cabinet interpret this passionate demand of the anti-fascist people? He began to remove the political commissars, men who had greatly assisted in establishing the People's Army, people who by their great self-sacrifice had stimulated the heroism of our fighters. The Largo Caballero government conducted the purge inside out. The people demanded the purging of the general staff, pointing to traitors and incompetents like Ascencio, Cabrera and others. The pressure of our Party and the masses forced Caballero to part with these harmful collaborators.

But at the same time Caballero removed some of the best men from the general staff because they were Communists. And incompetent and disloyal people continued to remain in high army posts and on the officers' lists without any measures at all being taken to put an end to the fascist scum. They began to jeer (because they could no nothing else) at such a talented military commander as General Miaja for his zeal, his popularity and the glory he had acquired by giving all of his best to the people. The same thing happened with regard to the political commissars, who are the heart and soul and basis of all our struggle.

Not a single one of the people's demands was satisfied. The people demanded a single command, and the reply was: "I am the single command!" The people demanded a united army, and the reply was: "I am the head of the united army!"

Was this the sort of war policy to be conducted by a government desirous of being victorious? No!

As a result of this fatal policy, a serious situation arose on several fronts, especially on the Biscay front.

How did this come about? Because there was either an inability or unwillingness to deal in good time with the problems connected with that region. The detachments of the people's militia were not reorganized, no regular army was created, there was no purge made of the commanding personnel, no loyal commanders were sent there, nor was any care taken to supply the front with the necessary means of defense. Biscay was caught unawares by the enemy offensive. Bilbao is in a no less serious situation than Madrid was in the first half of November.

Our Party sounded the alarm in good time concerning the position in the Basque country, but no heed was paid to it.

Two words about the Asturian front. We all know how courageously the Asturian miners fight. Nevertheless there have as yet been no battles where this courage and heroism have produced the proper results. Why? Because they have not yet managed to reorganize the detachments of the people's militia into parts of the regular army, they have not been able to make rational use of that tremendous source of energy. The seizure of Oviedo could be an accomplished fact, and the courageous miners could descend from the Asturian mountains and pursue the enemy on the fronts of Burgos and Leon, if that front were under the command of a central general staff. The Largo Caballero government did not fulfil these demands of ours and the present government will have to do so.

And the Teruel front? How often have preparations been made for an offensive to surround Teruel and then to move forward into the other regions of Aragon? And yet it has not been done. Why? Because discipline has not been introduced among the armed forces on the Teruel front. Apart from one or two brigades, there are still many columns there with loud-sounding names, which do not act as a disciplined force at the front and are without good commanders.

Despite all this, there have been cases on the Teruel front where the troops have pushed ahead and seized positions which have frequently been abandoned for lack of forces. These offensive operations were undertaken, as it happens, by units of the regular army. Therefore we continue to insist upon the demand for the reorganization of the Teruel front.

The Aragon front is yet another example which proves the inability of the former war minister to create the conditions for victory. We do not blame the units on that front. No, here again we are dealing with the problems of discipline and organization.

Every sector of the front was acting independently. When, for example, the troops of the central front had to withstand the furious attacks of the enemy, to throw all their forces into battle in order to hold the enemy back and, finally, to make a counter-offensive, they were not in a position to realize their plans to the full, because the enemy was constantly receiving reinforcements brought in from the Aragon and Teruel fronts and other sectors. On these fronts, because of the absence of a single command to coordinate all operations, our troops were passive, and permitted the enemy to lay bare these fronts and to concentrate their forces round Madrid.

That is why our Party insisted so much upon the need for a single command, on the need for organizing a regular army throughout the country, on the need for a single plan of operations. Was our Party right or wrong when it raised these problems in the Council of Ministers, in the press, at meetings, everywhere? The facts go to prove that it was right.

Despite all obstacles, the people's regular army is a reality already on many sectors of our front. The explanation of this is that our slogan "A united army and a single command" met with a very lively response among the men and the officers who are loyal to the republic. It is no accident that this slogan has been operated particularly on the central sector where the influence of our Party is decisive. It is no accident that the de-

tachments of the people's militia are being reorganized into units of the regular army in the South and in other places where the Communists possess preponderating influence, where they have been able to explain to the men the need for such an army.

There are some who assert that military commanders cannot be trained in a hurry, that military art cannot be mastered quickly. The art of warfare is mastered not only in academies but in war itself. Not all who wear the stars of the officer or the general's epaulettes have mastered the art of warfare. And, what is more, during civil war military ability cannot make itself evident if individuals are not heart and soul with the cause of the people. Why, were Comrades Modesto, Lister, Campesino, Duran, Carton, Del Barrio, Mera and others army men before the war? No, they were ordinary workers and now they are prominent army leaders. Did Comrades Rojo, Ortega, Burillo, the brothers Galan, Markes, Gordon, Siutat, Jurado and many others occupy high military posts before the war? No. Yet today they are prominent army leaders, because they have proved their abilities in the struggle, because they have displayed self-sacrifice and heroism. And are not Miaja, Posasa, Rikellme, Hernandez Sarabia and others today army chiefs occupying high military posts, beloved of the people? And why? Because they are devoted to the interests of the people.

Of what avail is military knowledge acquired in academies if it is utilized against us in the most insidious and treacherous fashion? Take for example General Ascencio, "the great strategist" so dear to the heart of Largo Caballero. Strategist? In what sphere? In preparing and organizing defeats. Or call to mind General Cabrera's famous thesis about the fall of Malaga. Here you have two "great professional strategists" and many other advisers of Largo Caballero, against whom our Party fought energetically until it had them removed. What tremendous benefits these "strategists" would have brought us had they applied their "strategic" theories in the camp of the enemy!

Largo Caballero apparently also graduated from the same school of "strategists"!

It was very painful for us to witness the fall of this man who might have been an outstanding leader of the government of the People's Front. But as far as we are concerned the interests of the people are higher than individual persons. Therefore we had to reject this man in order to continue along the right road which will lead our people to victory.

REGARDING THE POLICY OF RESERVES

How many times did our Party insist upon the need for organizing and using reserves! And what was done to solve this problem? The mobilization decree published at the end of October had to be repeated in February. The term has expired, nevertheless there are still thousands of people who come under the ruling of this decree who have still not been taken into the army because of the lack of organization; there are still hundreds of thousands of people capable of bearing arms and ardently desirous of fighting who have been given no military training. Meanwhile our big offensive operations have been paralyzed because—as was the case at Guadalajara—our troops, having won a victory, dropped down from exhaustion and were not in a condition to pursue the retreating enemy. Both on this, as on other questions, Largo Caballero, the leader of the former government, paid no heed to us.

NEITHER WAS THERE A CORRECT POLICY AS REGARDS THE WAR INDUSTRY

We also demanded that the people's army in process of formation be supplied with arms and ammunition. Today we have armed forces and technique such as our people have never seen before. The materials were acquired abroad, but we can and want to produce more war materials, to have a still mightier army,

in order the more quickly to win the war and guarantee peace.

Therefore we constantly and insistently demanded—and the demonstration of February 14 demanded this as well—"the creation of a powerful war industry controlled by the government." But despite all promises, our industrial apparatus continued to work as before. Yet one of the most urgent and essential requirements, from the moment the war broke out, has been a powerful war industry. This has become a still more active problem since the control by the European powers and the obstacles put in the way by the interventionists have still further hindered the import of arms and ammunition for our army.

It was impossible to conduct and win the war in this way. And so in the call addressed to all honest citizens of the country which called forth a warm response and the approval of the people, we informed Largo Caballero that we could no longer tolerate such a situation.

That is how the crisis arose. A reorganization of the government was necessary and essential, because the Spanish people must, whatever happens, shorten and win the war. The people knew that Largo Caballero's mistaken policy was an obstacle which had to be removed. We were not guided by a desire for posts: there were two Communists in the former cabinet, and there are two in the present cabinet as well. We are not fighting for portfolios; we are fighting for the policy which leads to victory, even if, for the purpose, we have to conduct a struggle against our closest friends and collaborators, because the whole meaning of our existence at the present historic moment is to win the war, because once we have won the war, we will have won everything: both the war and the revolution.

THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR IN THE LARGO CABALLERO CABINET INCAPABLE OF GUARANTEEING ORDER IN THE REAR

If order is not guaranteed in the rear, it is impossible to win the war. Largo Caballero and his Minister of the Interior, either out of weakness or for political reasons, did not establish revolutionary order in the rear. This is why hundreds of thousands of demonstrators, representing the whole of the anti-fascist people, cried out on February 14: "All power to the government!" What was the meaning of this slogan? That there must be an end to "pigmy governments," as Comrade Diaz said, and to those who make "revolution" at their own risk by depriving others of their property and freedom.

What satisfaction was given to this desire of the masses and this urgent demand of the war? In a number of villages, power is still subordinated to individual armed groups and bands of so-called "uncontrollable elements."

The masses who demonstrated in Valencia demanded "that the work of fortifying the coast be intensified through the introduction of compulsory labor for all mobilized persons." When, how and where has there been introduced "compulsory labor for all mobilized persons"? The vast majority of the people capable of carrying out this necessary defense work are strolling idly along the streets or sitting around in cafes.

The people demanded that the rear be purged of all idlers, that they be mobilized for war work and for erecting fortifications. Had this demand been fulfilled, it would have been possible to build so many fortifications as to render our towns and our coasts inaccessible to the whole world of enemies. What has been done with the people? True, people belonging to the "Fifth Column" have been detained, but how? Galarsa (the Minister of Home Affairs in the Largo Caballero government) blissfully let them through one door in order to let them out of the other. Therefore, when speaking of the everlasting discoveries of the "Fifth Column," Comrade Diaz said that the tail of the "Fifth Column" was not to be seen. And quite understandable! Under the system where people are arrested and then released, it is not only a

"Fifth Column" but a roundabout.

The people demanded that "all long-barreled rifles be put at the disposal of the government." The rebellion in Catalonia is eloquent proof that a tremendous quantity of arms, including not only rifles but machine-guns, artillery and tanks, were not in the control of the government but were hidden away waiting for a convenient moment to be used against the government.

Could a minister who for six months watched a rebellion being openly prepared in Catalonia and saw how the peasants were robbed and insulted, a minister who tolerated the existence of "uncontrollable elements," and a foul and slanderous campaign against the government and the People's Front conducted by Trotskyist provocateurs and their organ *La Batalla*—could such a minister support revolutionary order in the rear and defend the gains of the people's revolution? Of course he could not!

That is why our cry rang out: Clear Galarsa out of the Ministry of the Interior! Down with the protector of uncontrollable elements, with the individual who "discovers" "Fifth Columns" in such a way that they bounce up again in miraculous fashion the very next day after their discovery; down with the man who leaves unpunished the plundering and crime that are going on in the rear!

THE INSISTENT DEMANDS OF THE MASSES REGARDING THE CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT

As soon as the government crisis began, which was brought into being by the need for removing these shortcomings and fulfilling the demands of the people, our Party declared itself ready to collaborate in any government of the People's Front that would accept a minimum program, the main points of which, if fulfilled, would enable us to win the war rapidly and consolidate the gains of the revolution. Therefore the Party published a program and laid down the conditions necessary to ensure its fulfilment. One of our demands was that Galarsa should not return to the post of Minister of the Interior, and that the post of Prime Minister and that of the War Minister be no longer concentrated in the hands of one man, since one man, however wise he may be, is not in a position to cope successfully with both these duties.

In addition, our Party wanted to demonstrate its disagreement with the policy pursued by Caballero in the War Ministry, and, consequently, to point to the need for replacing him by another person, capable of really leading war operations.

HOW WAS THE CRISIS SOLVED?

A new government was set up which accepted the main points proposed by our Party. Our Party entered this government, and the Party expressed its desire that the government should include representatives of the U.G.T. (General Union of Workers) and the C.N.T. (National Confederation of Labor), in addition to the political parties—Socialist, Communist and Republican. Comrade Negrin met the representatives of the Executive Committees of the U.G.T. and C.N.T., but they turned down his proposal, categorically demanding that the government must without fail have Largo Caballero at its head, with the U.G.T. and the C.N.T. playing the leading role in it. Such dictatorial conditions were absolutely unacceptable.

On seeing that in these circumstances the new government would be formed both without Caballero and without representatives of the U.G.T. and the C.N.T., several leaders of those organizations began to threaten us with all kinds of calamities and even declared that no sort of Spanish government could or would be created without them.

Fortunately, the Socialist and Republican parties belonging to the People's Front shared our political line, considering it correct, and agreed to form a government.

The Negrin government was formed. And within twenty-four hours we find the vast majority of the trade union

organizations affiliated to the U.G.T. disassociating themselves from the position adopted by their leaders. The same thing would have happened with the C.N.T. had it been in the habit of taking a ballot on democratic lines.

Why and on whose behalf do the people leading the trade union organization appropriate functions and rights which nobody has ever extended to them? Nobody ever empowered Pascual Thomas or anybody else to declare that the organization, the vast majority of whose membership are Socialists and Communists, would not afford support to the government if its secretary were not at the head of that government. Proof that they were mistaken and that we, Communists, were right in declaring that they do not express the true opinion of the members of the U.G.T., may be found in the result of the ballot, of which you are aware.

The leaders of the U.G.T. and the C.N.T. have tried to assure the workers that without them the government is not so revolutionary as previously. In present-day Spain that party is revolutionary, those people are revolutionary, who try rapidly to create a powerful people's army, equipped with the latest modern weapons, who see to the creation of a powerful war industry, to the organization of a general staff and talented united command, who create the conditions for a rapid victory. It is this that the present government has taken up and will fulfil.

That party is revolutionary and those people are revolutionary who see to the development of industry and the increase in productivity both in agriculture and in industry.

As against those who "socialize" a factory or an enterprise and then, on exhausting all the supplies of raw materials and money of the given enterprise, leave the workers without any work, our Party has raised the problem of nationalizing all the main branches of industry and, first and foremost, the undertakings belonging to rebels or those abandoned by their owners, demanding that these nationalized enterprises work according to a main plan which provides for the supply of raw materials, the improvement of the quality of production and markets for the industry concerned, under the direct leadership of the corresponding ministry.

First and foremost we demand the nationalization of all the munition works, so that they will proceed to work at full speed. In Spain there are factories, equipment, raw materials and the technical personnel necessary for the production of airplanes, armored cars, tanks, machine guns, rifles, shells, in a word all the latest war materials; but because a considerable part of these enterprises and raw materials are on territory where something in the nature of trade union parochialism prevails, these war materials are not produced.

In the present conditions, this, in plain words, is a crime. Further, it is intolerable that in many places the factories are engaged in producing not what the country is in need of, but what is more convenient and advantageous, and moreover the shameful state of affairs is to be observed where factories which could produce shells and other ammunitions occupy themselves with the production of beds, zinc baths or kitchen utensils, because such production is more profitable.

We demand order, discipline, encouragement to work; we are supporters of Stakhanov methods of work, of the improvement and constant rise in production, because we are at the same time supporters of gradually increasing wages, and improving the standard of living and the welfare of the working people. We are not supporters, as are certain paper revolutionaries, of petty-bourgeois leveling down; we do not want to introduce one rate of pay of ten pesetas for all, from the apprentice to the skilled worker. Neither do we want to continue the arbitrary state of affairs where women are frequently paid less than men for equal work. We want the workers to work as much as is necessary, even sixteen hours instead of eight

if it is required, but that the best work receive the best pay. Uniform wages, as proposed by some people, cannot stimulate the desire to increase skill, cannot encourage increased production; uniform wages, instead of bringing about a constant rise in the welfare of the masses, leads to leveling all down to poverty.

But if this is to be achieved, what is needed is that industrial production must be coordinated, and that can only be done under the leadership of the government through the planning commission which has already been created, and if workers' control is established. It should not be forgotten that for our factories to be able to work, we need a great deal of raw materials, which have to be bought abroad, and for that we require foreign currency, which only the state can provide.

The trade unions, the workers in the factories must bring about control over production. To this end, the workers of each factory must meet and elect the best from among their number to sit on the control committee; its work will be to keep an eye on production, to control the employment and dismissal of workers, to draw up labor agreements, to watch the sanitary and hygienic conditions in the factory. In short, its task will be to occupy itself with all the questions which interest the working class.

DEFEND THE INTERESTS OF THE PEASANTS!

That party is revolutionary, those people are revolutionary who strive to bring about an increase in agricultural production, who encourage the agricultural laborers and peasant masses to produce more and better. But in order to do this, there must first be order in the village, and the product of peasant labor —collective or individual—must be considered sacred. And whoever wants illegally to appropriate that which belongs to the peasant, whoever violates the peace and hinders work in the village, must find himself up against the firm hand of the revolutionary government.

Nobody must dare to seize agricultural products on the pretext of "socialization" or anything else; the government must fix profitable prices for agricultural products and guarantee them a market. Whoever wants to obtain agricultural products must pay for them in hard cash and not in bonds issued by committees, trade unions or municipalities. Because we defended this policy, because we said there must be respect for small property and the property of the peasantry, we were accused of wanting to revive the agrarian bourgeoisie!

We Communists, more than anybody else, are adherents of collectivization. It has been proved that agricultural production organized on a large scale gives a much bigger harvest than individual farms. But the process of collectivization cannot be brought about by a wave of a magic wand. Still less can and should the peasants be forced into collectivization. We believe, and we shall insist upon this in the government, that every kind of assistance be given to the collective farms already established, and to those who wish to do so. But, I repeat, only on condition that it is done voluntarily. Nobody has the right to coerce the will of the toilers of the earth. We must agitate for the need to organize cooperatives among the toilers of the soil. The government must stimulate these cooperatives, help them with seeds, agricultural implements, credits, etc. Collectivization in agriculture presupposes a high level of industrial development.

But have we a highly developed industry in Spain? Of course not! Only people who intend to make a revolution in one village or one region can indulge in fantasies on that score. Today the main thing, the most essential thing, is to produce, and to produce more and better every day.

In order to win the war, the factories and mills must first and foremost work for the war, and the villages must work for the front and the rear.

We also want an end put to the arbitrary requisition by the trade unions and committees of public service enterprises,

which in many cases, because of their inexperienced management lead only to increased charges for rents, the cost of electricity, transport and public services in general. Therefore, we demand the nationalization of the electric power stations, control by local government authorities of town transport, of the houses of rebels and abandoned houses, and the calculation of rents according to the wages of the workers and the masses of the people.

We want to see an end put to the unscrupulous speculation in articles of prime necessity, because of the lack of local government control of prices; we demand a policy of struggle against speculators. We must put an end to criminal acts whereby people armed to the teeth with weapons belonging to the government and therefore to the people make use of these weapons not against our enemies, the fascists, but against the legal authorities of the republic, against people and organizations fighting for victory and for the reinforcement of revolutionary conquests.

Anybody who has refused to take part in the government after the doors were open to him for collaboration and tries to create difficulties at the front or in the rear is, whoever he may be and whatever he may call himself, not only skating on thin ice and may find himself in the camp of the rebels, but runs the risk of the government's displeasure, whatever position he may occupy, and however strong he may be.

HOW SHALL WE WIN THE WAR?

Today we have a powerful army and all the conditions necessary for hastening on victory, but only on condition that the men fighting at the front feel they have a secure and militant rear, from which all parasites and idlers, all scoundrels who are only waiting for an opportunity of causing conflicts and internecine strife, have been swept away.

The present government, and our Party as well, want to win the war, and we shall do so, having an army so powerful and experienced in battle, and by developing and strengthening our industry, increasing production in the villages, establishing revolutionary order and revolutionary discipline in the rear. The whole of the Spanish people and, first and foremost, the proletariat should keep one idea before them at the front and in the rear, namely, to win the war and together with it the revolution.

This is what the present government intends to carry out; it is for the sake of this that our Party, the Communist Party, the revolutionary vanguard of the toiling people, is fighting and will continue to fight.

The present People's Front government firmly intends to conduct a revolutionary policy, and today nothing can be more revolutionary than winning the war. In the new government there are five ministers—three Socialists and two Communists—who are a guarantee of the revolutionary consistency of its policy. In the government there are Republicans, representatives of the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie, who together with us are fighting for a new Spain of peace and labor; in the government there are representatives of Catalonia and the Basque countries, of our fraternal peoples who, in alliance with the Spanish people, want to free themselves from the imperialist and fascist yoke.

One common program of struggle binds us together, but we Communists and Socialists know that we represent a tremendous majority of the forces fighting on the fronts—naval, air and land. Moreover, we represent the huge majority of the workers, because our parties draw their strength from the trade union movement. They are the nerves of the working class movement of the country. Together with the Republicans we represent all that is noble, militant, and honest in the Spanish people!

WE WANT A GREAT UNITED PROLETARIAN PARTY TO BE ESTABLISHED

There are two big parties in Spain which traditionally represent the work-

ing class movement: the Socialist Party which, fortunately, is gradually getting rid of its old views and adhering to a platform which every day brings it nearer and nearer to being a Marxist party; and the Communist Party, the true representative of the Marxist-Leninist, the Stalinist, theory.

Both these big proletarian organizations are more and more uniting their desires and their aims to such an extent that today a desire has arisen to put an end once and for all to mere talk about unity, about fusion, and instead, to bring it about, to create a united party of the Spanish proletariat. I want to give their due to the leaders of our fraternal Socialist Party, Comrades Lamoneda and Cordera who are present at this meeting. We must proceed to speed up the fusion of these two big parties. We will welcome with open arms all those who want to advance. And if there are any who want to drag along behind, all the worse for them! But people with an open heart, people who have an untainted past in the movement of the Spanish people, cannot feel at ease outside the party we are going to create. We want to advance along with them. But they must also want to march with us.

The same refers to the trade union organizations. The result of the ballot in the national executive committee of the U.G.T., shows that there is a conscious tendency in this trade union organization which wants to rouse the organibation to make claser contacts with their brothers of the C.N.T. A great deal is said about unity, about these organizations being the backbone of unity, that on the basis of these two organizations our people will win the war. But what is the position regarding the fusion of these organizations and what are the prospects that it will take place?

On the basis of what program, what principles will this unity be brought about? Is there any program for it? For demanding that these conditions be established, we are accused of creating obstacles to unity! Were there any program, it could be said that we had not accepted it; but since there is no program, that cannot be said.

At the present time, unity between both the political parties and the trade union organizations must be brought about on the concrete, definite basis of winning the war, finishing once and for all with these mass, arbitrary requisitions for which there is now not the slightest justification, building up a powerful war industry and creating the reserves necessary for the army.

And at the same time it must include the hammering out of unity among the proletarians in order to achieve a great united proletarian party and trade union unity, the preservation and consolidation of the People's Front, the alliance of the whole of the Spanish people on the basis of a united effort to rapidly win the war, and the creation of the necessary conditions for this. There are some organizations in the government which is firmly determined to lead the people to victory, which are not specially represented, but let no one think that they will find no defense for themselves therein. Our government is the government of all antifascists, of the whole of the Spanish people.

Our government is one which corresponds to the present stage of development of the revolution.

Governments, like parties and people, must be judged not by their words, but by their deeds, and the first acts of the new government do honor to its program.

The trade unions can and should collaborate with the government by direct participation in the government itself or indirect participation through the various organs that guide the economy of the land. But we must resolutely put an end to high-faluting revolutionary phraseology; replacing it by the conduct of a real revolutionary policy.

Fully convinced that we have a government that corresponds to the situation in our country today, our Party, our consistent, revolutionary, proletarian Party, declares to the working masses that the policy that is being conducted

today is the only correct policy, and therefore we are supporting it with all our might. And in order to be absolutely sure that in pursuing this policy we are fully expressing the feelings of the masses, we have come before you and before the whole of the people to give a report of our behavior; and we ask you, as our General Secretary asked you several days ago: do you agree with the policy our Party is pursuing? [Those present reply with a hearty: "Aye," accompanied by a stormy ovation.]

And so we raise high the banner of our Party, the banner of unity. With you and with the whole of our people we shall win the war, and with it, the revolution!

In Memory of M. I. Ulianova

FROM THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

THE Executive Committee of the Communist International expresses its profound sorrow on the occasion of the death of Comrade Maria Ilyinichna Ulianova, who during her whole life fought in the ranks of the glorious Party of Lenin and Stalin for the emancipation of toiling humanity from the yoke of capitalism. Her long years of work are a shining example of service in the cause of socialism, of the care of the Bolshevik Party for the demands and interests of the proletariat and all toilers, an example of living, uninterrupted connection of the Party with the working class and the broad masses of the people. The life of this old Bolshevik, the faithful assistant of the great Lenin, who up to the last day of her life enthusiastically worked for the consolidation of socialist construction, will be an example for the champions of the army of Communism throughout the world.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

* * *

On June 12 Maria Ilyinichna Ulianova, youngest sister of our great Lenin, an old fighter of the Bolshevik Party, member of the C.E.C. of the U.S.S.R., member of the Bureau of the Commission of Soviet Control of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. and head of the Complaints Bureau, breathed her last.

On June 14, the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet government, headed by Comrade Stalin, carried the urn containing her ashes to the Kremlin Wall, where she was interred close to the Lenin Mausoleum.

M. Ulianova grew up under the strong influence of her great brother. She was one of the best representatives of the old Lenin guard. Of the fifty-nine years of her life, she devoted forty years to the cause of the proletarian revolution. She suffered prison and exile. She trod the hard and difficult path from the old underground study circles of the revolutionary working class movement in Russia to the great Stalin epoch of the victory of socialism.

The biography of Lenin has made known to wide circles the exclusive circumstances; both social and family, in which there took shape and developed the gigantic figure of the genius and leader of the working people. The working class movement of tsarist Russia was a school for hundreds of iron revolutionaries, of Bolsheviks firm and possessing unbounded loyalty to the cause of the working class. But in this general situation, the Ulianov family occupied a special place. It was in truth a splendid family. There lies the stamp of high culture, of revolutionary, Communist culture on them throughout, on the relations existing between parents and children, the relations between the brothers and sisters, on their attitude to their comrades and, most of all, to the working people. Collective collaboration based on deep mutual respect, community of views and revolutionary convictions, endowed the family with the character of an ideal Communist nucleus.

As a child of nine, Maria Ulianova experienced with the rest of the family the tragic end of her eldest brother, Alexander, who was executed by the tsarist butchers. The second brother, Vladi-

mir (Lenin), from his very earliest youth won tremendous influence for himself in the family. His splendid abilities, inexhaustible love of life and stormy activity inexpressibly affected all those around him.

Maria Ilyinichna, when, immediately after Lenin's death, relating reminiscences of him, drew a picture of the childhood and youth of Lenin and his brothers and sisters, and emphasized the tremendous power of the personal charm of young Vladimir Ilyitch. She told how being with him involuntarily called forth an inexpressible desire to help him in everything, "to do everything for him as well as possible." "Work well," became one of the watchwords of Maria Ilyinichna's life. From her early years she became an ideal assistant to her brother. She loved him deeply and was his close friend and comrade, who understood his every wish. But while admiring his genius, she showed herself to be much more, and stood out far more clearly than a mere executor. She became an ardent Marxist, and from the first moment of the birth of Bolshevism, a convinced Bolshevik, and developed into a splendid underground worker and organizer, a professional revolutionary.

The features which distinguished the best representatives of the Bolshevik guard were inherent in her to a tremendous extent. First of all there was the constant necessity and exceptional ability to *heed the voice of the masses and learn from them*—which arise out of the belief in the Communist ideal and loyalty to the toiling masses. In the real Bolshevik, this quality has nothing in common with sentimentality. On the contrary, it is a conscious and active desire always to support and ease the lives of the working people in general, and individuals in particular. It is a passionate desire to raise life as a whole onto a higher level through the relentless destruction of all the remains of the heritage of the accursed past. This determination and courage of the revolutionary who mercilessly drags out evil by the roots, were combined in her, in a rare fashion, with a tactful and fine approach to the individual.

M. Ulianova developed her creative powers in spheres of mass work such as require special powers of observation, a knowledge of the interests of the masses, and an understanding of the individual longings of each person individually. For twelve years during which she worked in the *Pravda*, the central organ of the C.P.S.U., she played a big role in the development of the workers' correspondent movement, which covered hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants. During the last years of her life she developed mass organizational and educational work around the Complaints Bureau of the Commission of Soviet Control. The great slogan of Lenin and Stalin—care for the people—was operated to the full by Maria Ilyinichna.

Another feature which so distinguishes the true Bolshevik, a feature which was especially inherent in Lenin and in the spirit of which Lenin and Stalin have trained the Party, was that of a *deep attitude of principle*. The Bolshevik attitude of principle will not be reconciled with solving this or that problem from the viewpoint of accidental or personal feelings, tastes and interests, from the viewpoint of the interests of a narrow circle of personal friends or close comrades. All her life Maria Ilyinichna showed that the general interests of the movement were dearer and weightier to her than all else.

Her supreme love for her brother—our great Lenin—arose out of the fact that Lenin was inseparable from the Party, from the proletarian revolution which she faithfully served. For her, Stalin was above all the great individual who continued the work of Marx, Engels and Lenin, the great leader in the struggle for the victory of communism. On more than one occasion she set an example of iron steadfastness, of a readiness and ability to break with any one of her friends and comrades for the sake of the Party, for the sake of its great banner.

She was possessed of an unusual mod-

esty; she had the gift of making close acquaintance with the most varied people from the camp of the working people and of helping them in the best sense of the word; yet she was merciless to those who retreated, to enemies of the Party and the working class. This feature, combined with great powers of observation, protected her against blindness and criminal negligence toward masked enemies, against the idiotic sickness, carelessness, which the Party must pull up by the roots once and for all.

Maria Ilyinichna was a highly cultured person. In a country where only two or three decades ago the mass of working people, one hundred million in number, were doomed to physical starvation and slavery, to spiritual darkness, people like Maria Ilyinichna were of tremendous value. In a country where, in the splendid Stalin epoch, there are gigantic historic achievements to be seen in the sphere of new socialist culture, Maria Ilyinichna was a splendid example for the youth who are marching toward the heights of communism. Not only the workers and collective farmers of the Soviet Union, but the foremost workers of other countries as well, will, in the struggle to master Bolshevism, remember with gratitude and respect one of its best representatives, Maria Ilyinichna Ulianova. Her person will always serve as an example of unbounding loyalty to the great cause of Lenin and Stalin, of the self-sacrificing struggle for the victory of communism throughout the world.

HER LIFE'S JOURNEY
(*A Brief Biography*)

Maria Ilyinichna Ulianova, sister of Lenin, was born in 1878 in Simbirsk (now Ulianovsk). From early childhood she was under the influence of her brother, Vladimir Ilyitch Ulianov (Lenin). When still a young girl she joined the revolutionary movement. After finishing high school in 1896 she became a student at the Moscow Women's College and took an active part in the illegal students' meetings.

From autumn, 1898, Ulianova attended lectures at Brussels University and at the same time she carried on work given her by the Social-Democratic organization. She was arrested in 1899 in Moscow. After two weeks she was released and exiled in Nizhni Novgorod.

From this moment Ulianova had no peace from the tsarist police, for her began the life of a professional revolutionary, a life of ceaseless self-sacrificing struggle for the cause of the Party of the working class.

Ulianova returned to Moscow at the end of 1899, later she started taking an active part on the *Iskra*, sending correspondence and information to the paper.

After the split at the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party into the Bolshevik and Menshevik factions, she stood firm in the Bolshevik ranks and continued so to the very last days of her life, serving the great cause of the Bolshevik Party.

From autumn, 1903, Ulianova worked in the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Party, carried on correspondence with local committees and the Bolshevik Center abroad.

In January, 1904, she was arrested together with a group of active members of the Party organization. At the end of 1904 Ulianova went to Geneva, where Lenin then lived, and in 1905 returned for Party work to Petersburg. During the years of revolution and the period of reaction, Ulianova stood staunchly at her fighting post.

From 1908 to 1909 she was in Paris studying at the Sorbonne. In 1910 she returned again to Moscow, where she was arrested by the police. In May, 1911, Ulianova was arrested and exiled to the Vologda Province for three years. Here she made contacts with the railway workers and carried on correspondence with the Bolshevik Center abroad.

In autumn, 1914, she served one month in prison, later working in the Moscow Bolshevik organization.

When the February Revolution broke out, it was with extreme energy that Ulianova took up work on the Bolshevik *Pravda* and remained at this work from

March, 1917 up to the spring of 1929.

At the Fourteenth Congress of the Bolshevik Party Ulianova was elected a member of the Central Control Commission. From this period she worked continually on the Central Control Commission and was elected to its Presidium in 1932.

Since the Seventeenth Party Congress Ulianova was a member of the Commission of the Soviet Control and member of the Bureau of this Commision. She was appointed head of the Bureau for Complaints. Here again she showed inexhaustible energy, tact, thoughtfulness and attention to people. Thousands of people approached the Bureau for Complaints, finding there consideration and thoughtful attention.

Maria Ulianova did very much for the political development of the women liberated by the revolution.

The government valued her services and her unselfish work of communist education of the working and peasant women, and decorated her with the Order of Lenin.

The "Third Front," a Dangerous Illusion of Catholic Circles

BY FRANZ LANG

IN GERMANY there are about twenty-two to twenty-three million Catholics, constituting approximately one-third of the country's population. These millions of German people were fairly well organized before Hitler came to power. The Church *Year Book* of 1934 mentions over 200 Catholic societies with a membership of over 11,000,000. Though many Catholics belong simultaneously to more than one organization, and this number represents considerable duplicate membership, it nevertheless constitutes an appreciable army of organized Catholics.

The Christian workers had their own trade unions and Catholic brotherhoods. Office employees, government officials, farmers, artisans, business men, artists, writers, university men, pilots, chauffeurs, hotel employees, domestic servants, in short all kinds of groups of the population, including the youth had their own Catholic brotherhoods and societies organized along professional lines. The Catholic German Women's Association had about 1,000 branches and approximately 200,000 members in 1928. The Deutsche Jugend Kraft, a Catholic sport society, had 899,876 members in 1932, and the Imperial Association of Catholic Women Athletes had 260,000 members. Thus, over 1,100,000 Catholic sportsmen and women athletes were organized in 1932. The People's Union of Catholic Germany, founded in 1890, had 687,000 members in 1922, as well as over 5,400 officials and some 45,000 committee members to run its affairs. In 1935 Germany still had 420 Catholic publications, with an aggregate circulation of 11,500,000 copies.

These few figures show that the Catholic population of Germany and their organizations were and still are a very serious force. One may well imagine what would happen if this force were to form a united front with the other opponents of Hitlerite barbarism. The unification of all democratic, anti-fascist and non-fascist sources of popular energy in the struggle against Hitler fascism would have saved Germany from all the misery and disgrace of the Hitler regime.

As early as the beginning of 1933 Ernst Thaelmann appealed to the Catholic working people, and said:

"We do not want to plunder the monastries, we do not stand for the burning of the crucifix or the destruction of holy images. . . . We want a united struggle of all who suffer want. . . . We extend our hand to you . . . and say to you: Christian comrades, take our hand and let us fight together. . . ."

This call remained unheeded. It did not prove possible to muster all the forces of liberty and peace against the forces of slavery and war, the forces of Hitler fascism.

Naturally, it was with misgivings that the masses of Catholics, and their organizations, with some exceptions, watched the growth of Hitlerism and its seizure of power. But the leading Catholic politicians speculated on the possibility of gaining some concessions from fascism through a policy of moderation.

And with what results? It is nearly five years that the fascists have been rampant in Germany, plundering the people, resorting to murder and torture, and humiliating the masses. Not only the labor organizations and all free associations of working people have been destroyed and suppressed. The Catholic associations have also been smashed. The Catholic papers have been subjected to all sorts of interference and humiliation. The Catholic schools and orphanages have been demolished. Many Catholic leaders have been thrown into jail, slandered and exiled. The fascist criminals are staging "exemplary" trials against Catholic leaders, in order to break the resistance of the Catholic masses, to provoke them, besmirch them with filth, and force them to submit to the barbarian yoke!

The fascist dictatorship has lately intensified its campaign of slander against the Catholics. "Immorality" trials are being staged almost daily against Catholics. This has produced a sharp reaction in the U.S.A. as well. Cardinal Mundelein, a German-American, who took the side of Germany during the imperialist war, made a sharp condemnation of the behavior of German fascism, in an address delivered before a gathering of Chicago priests. In reply to this, Goebbels spoke at a mass meeting in Berlin, rousing pogrom sentiments against the Catholic masses. The German government sent a note to the Vatican, protesting against the address of Cardinal Mundelein. In the opinion of the German government Cardinal Mundelein had disgraced the "honor" of Germany because he had referred to Hitler as "a former paperhanger, and a poor one at that."

The fascist press is full of insults addressed against Catholics. Goebbels holds out the prospect of trials and prison sentences. The destroyers of Durango and Guernica, the provocateurs who bombarded the defenseless town of Almeria, who, according to a report of a special United Press correspondent, reduced the Red Cross Hospital in Almeria to ruins, the Hitler fascists who glorify murderers and terrorists as "heroes," have now suddenly discovered their calling to be that of "protectors of morality."

The cleavage between the Catholic masses and the fascist regime becomes deeper every day, the conflict between them is becoming more acute. The Hitler fascists are seeking out ever new excuses for persecuting the Catholics and for treating them as beasts, just as they treat Communists, Socialists, democrats and friends of peace.

The fact that the forces of the people have been divided has not been to their benefit. The only people to gain from it have been the fascist executioners and war-makers.

In face of the daily provocations of Hitler fascism, in face of its daily onslaught on liberty, conscience and all the rights of the people, in face of its ever-growing aggressiveness and its incitement to war, the question rising before the Catholic masses, with ever-growing urgency and persistence, is: *how* and *together with whom* are they to repulse these attacks, to defend peace and to save Germany from catastrophe? The Catholic masses are beginning more and more to realize that they must march together with the most resolute opponents of Hitlerism, with the Communist and Socialist workers. The class conscious workers are exerting great efforts to show their solidarity with the Catholic masses who are fighting for their liberty. This is recognized outside of Germany as well. At a public meeting which took place in Paris, Georges Bidault, editor of the Catholic daily paper *L'Aube,* in reply to a speech of Comrade Florimen Bonte said:

"It is quite an important fact that a Communist speaker has been able to come here and utter words of justice and sympathy for Catholic Germany. . . ." (*L'Aube,* May 16, 1937.)

Certain German Catholic refugee circles, however, grouped around the organs *Der Deutsche Weg* and *Der Christliche Standestaat,* are opposed to the unification of all the democratic antifascist and non-fascist forces. They advocate the formation of what they call

the Third Front, as against the People's Front. They maintain that the Catholic masses must pursue a "policy of autarchy," a self-sufficient policy of "splendid isolation." Their slogan is "*neither the one, nor the other*," that is, neither with "Bolshevism against National Socialism," nor vice versa.

What are the arguments used by these circles in their efforts to establish a "Third Front," *i.e.*, a front which would actually remain *impotent* in face of the fascist butchers and warmongers?

The ideologists of the "Third Front" make the lying accusation against the Communist International that its People's Front policy is "insincere." They argue that in the countries where the Communist International is allegedly compelled, in consideration of the existence of peace pacts, between their countries and the Soviet Union, to be "moderate," it finds new forms in the shape of the People's Front in order "to preserve its Party organizations intact, at least at their present level, while waiting for 'better days.'"

It is well known that reactionary politicians, including the Swiss Catholic Motta, for example, "warned" against the conclusion of pacts with the Soviet Union, and even against diplomatic recognition, because this would allegedly give a new impetus to Communist activity. And now the same people declare that the policy of regional pacts pursued by the Soviet Union and directed solely to the salvation of world peace, "restricts" Communist activity, forces the Communists to become "moderate." This glaring contradiction is sufficient proof of the absurdity of the arguments advanced by the champions of the "Third Front" in opposition to the Communist International's policy of the People's Front.

To the Communist International the People's Front is not at all a "form of pulling through the winter," a maneuver, a "hunter's" trap, but something which corresponds to the "vital interests of the working people" (Dimitroff). The People's Front is a necessity, in order to block the road of fascism, to prevent it from gathering its forces, to root it out and rid the world of it, to safeguard peace and to rally the masses for the struggle for a better and freer life. In the countries where the fascist dictatorship uses its whip against the people, the People's Front is necessary in order to bring the masses together and to lead them step by step to the struggle for liberty and democracy. This is in the interests of *all* the working people, Catholics as well as non-Catholics.

The politicians of the "Third Front" maintain that the aims of the People's Front are "dangerous in principle because they are based not so much on common ideals as on common sentiments."

People in the Third Empire are staking their heads to defend their convictions. Is it not a "common ideal" to save such people? Is it not a "common ideal" to engage in a common fight against the shameless exploitation and impoverishment of the people by fascism, regardless of difference in point of view? Is it not a "common ideal" to engage in a common struggle against the war provocations of fascism and for the preservation of world peace? Is such a joint struggle "dangerous"? Yes, it is, but for whom? For the masses who yearn for democracy, liberty and peace, or for fascism? Obviously, the bringing together of all its opponents is dangerous to fascism alone!

Yet, the establishment of a "Third Front" actually amounts to declaring to fascism: "We, the adherents of this new 'front,' will not move a finger when class-conscious workers, Communists, Socialists, democrats, friend of peace, Protestants, Jews, are persecuted and beaten in Germany. We shall not defend them in a united front because their religious views are not the same as ours!" What strength can such a front have, when actually, even though unintentionally, it encourages fascism to settle accounts with its enemies one by one, to exterminate them one at a time? The "Third Front" means nothing other than support for the split and division of forces.

Only fascism will be the "laughing third party," only it can draw new strength from a "Third Front."

Of course, there are profound differences in world outlook between Communists and believers. No one would ever think of denying or glossing this over. But believers and Communists do not solve these contradictions by such means as the gallows, the executioner's block, jail or the concentration camp. Fascism, on the other hand, keeps the people under its heel by force, drags its opponents en masse before its penal courts and, as a last resort, uses its tested means of physically exterminating its antagonists. It suffices to mention two names: John Scheer, the Communist, and Dr. Klausener, the Catholic. The question is, can the masses of the people permit each individual group to be "dealt with" separately by the *common* foe, or should they, regardless of differences in religious matters, fight together against fascism?

The Communists say to the masses, and to the nations: If you do not wish to be wiped out by fascist airplanes, as was the case in Durango, Guernica, and other towns in Spain, then join together and fight a common struggle against fascist barbarism, rally to the People's Front for *common* action against your mortal enemy.

The demand of the hour is not a "Third Front," which means a split, which brings impotence, and is a denial of common action and inevitably facilitates the work of fascism, but a People's Front of all the friends of democracy and peace, regardless of their religious convictions, for a *common* struggle against fascism.

The Fate of Three Anti-Communist Laws

BY K. MAYER

LUXEMBOURG, Berne and Geneva were the three places where important events in the struggle to defend the democratic rights and liberties of the people took place during the first half of June.

In Luxembourg the people delivered a severe blow against Hitler fascism and its lackeys—the metallurgical magnates of Luxembourg. The so-called anti-Communist law, by virtue of which the Communist Party was to have been suppressed, was rejected (by plebiscite) by 70,600 votes against 67,700.

In Berne, where the Swiss Union Council is situated, the question was to have been decided as to the Swiss "Public Order Law," according to which all the liberties of the people were to have been suppressed. For six whole months the government of the country had been trying to put through this law. But as it was extremely unpopular among the very widest sections of the people, the Parliamentary Commission was compelled, not long before the beginning of the parliamentary session in the beginning of June, to withdraw this projected penal bill, because it was impossible to pass it by means of a so-called "emergency decision" of the Union Council without a plebiscite, and the reactionaries were afraid of a plebiscite.

The Basle capitalist newspaper *Nazionale Zeitung* wrote:

"The dissatisfaction of the Swiss people with the policy of emergency measures has grown so much during the last few months that it has begun to be felt even in the palace of the Union Council."

The Catholic-Conservatives, the chief upholders of the emergency legislation, declared in parliamentary commission that they were "only interested in the law to maintain order if it is passed as an emergency measure, for a plebiscite would give the Communists new opportunities of engaging in propaganda and of progressing, and the result would be the opposite to what they, the Conservatives, wanted."

These attacks of reaction have so far been defeated throughout the whole of Switzerland. Nevertheless, the forces of reaction are continuing their attempts to fulfil their plans in a roundabout way, by striving to secure the passage of the oppressive legislation in the separate Cantons.

On June 13, a Cantonal anti-Communist law was passed in Geneva by 18,278 votes against 12,076. This is already a second case, for a similar law had already been passed previously in Neuenburg. Thus the Geneva organization of the Communist Party is suppressed and driven underground. The law is so reactionary and so "elastic" that it can be applied to any organization which in one way or another, directly or indirectly, affiliates to an international organization "whose activities are a danger to the state." The members of the Communist organizations are deprived of active civil rights and may be sentenced to periods of imprisonment amounting to as much as two years, and a fine of 5,000 francs.

While considerable successes can be registered in German Switzerland in the rallying of the democratic forces, whereas fascist reaction has been unable up to now to consolidate its forces there,

in French Switzerland, on the other hand, we see the opposite. There all the reactionary forces, all the bourgeois parties, have joined forces with the fascist groups, and all this "national society of action" is under the political leadership of fascism—of Mussolini and Hitler.

This bloc of reactionaries and fascists has succeeded to a certain extent in creating a mass movement of the petty bourgeoisie against the working class. The undermining work and demagogy of the agents of Hitler and Mussolini, of whom there are swarms in Geneva, are directed primarily against the French People's Front. They sow panic among the middle sections of society, scaring them with the notion that the People's Front will bring about civil war. They are doing their utmost to prevent the truth from being spread about France and about the struggle on behalf of democratic Spain.

For several months now the Paris *L'Humanité* has been prohibited, while French People's Front speakers are not allowed to cross the Swiss frontier, although fascists like Doriot, who travel to Geneva for the purpose of engaging in anti-Communist slanders, are received with open arms by the local bankers.

The second still more serious cause of the defeat in Geneva is that there is no real united front, not to mention a People's Front, there.

The Geneva Social-Democrats constitute the Left wing in Swiss Social-Democracy. This Left wing, true, often collaborates with the Communist Party, but the central leadership of the Swiss Social-Democratic Party and particularly the trade union leaders are always threatening penalties against the Geneva Social-Democratic organization. At a conference of Socialists of French Switzerland which recently took place, a stand was adopted against the anti-popular, penal legislation, but the central Social-Democratic leadership simultaneously made it an obligation on the local Social-Democratic organizations to reject all collaboration with the Communist Party. In such a contradictory situation, the masses cannot be adequately rallied. The reactionaries make use of this split in the working class, and of the anti-Communist slander carried on by the Right Social-Democratic leaders, who in the canton of Neuenburg a few weeks ago openly favored the prohibition of the Communist organizations there.

To this must be added the fact that the policy of the former Social-Democratic authorities in Geneva caused great disillusionment among their former supporters. This disillusionment led to the fall of the canton government of Nicole in November last year, and manifested itself in the results of the present plebiscite.

At the same time there are strong sectarian tendencies among the Left Social-Democrats in Geneva, which have hindered the petty-bourgeois and other democratic elements from being drawn into the joint struggle against fascism.

Finally, our own Party has not yet overcome considerable defects in its mass work. It is almost entirely isolated from the middle strata. The Party has not managed to create a broad committee in defense of democracy, so as to win away from reactionary influence that section of the working electors who support the bourgeois-democratic camp.

Meanwhile the victory of democracy in Luxembourg clearly shows the growth of anti-fascist sentiments among the masses. It is precisely this fact that has forced the Social-Democratic Party and the trade unions there to take up a position hostile to the emergency law. Despite the fact that the Social-Democratic leaders have sharply rejected the united front, united action has to a certain degree been set up among the rank-and-file organizations in the course of a joint struggle against the law. A League in Defense of Democracy has arisen which a number of bourgeois democrats and a bourgeois-liberal committee of action have joined. In reply to the drive of fascist reaction in Luxembourg the first shoots of a People's Front have made

their appearance. Whereas in consequence of the support given to the penal law by the Social-Democratic Party at the recent plebiscite in the Swiss canton of Neuenburg it lost seven seats, in Luxembourg at the bye-elections which took place simultaneously with the plebiscite, the Social-Democratic Party won three seats, and the newly formed Democratic Party received two seats.

In consequence of the exceptional position in the country, the Communist Party of Luxembourg did not, on this occasion, put forward its own candidates, but gave its support to the Social-Democratic slate in order to mobilize all forces against the reactionary government and Hitler fascism.

The confirmation of the legal existence of the Communist Party in Luxembourg as a result of the plebiscite is of great value for the Party. For it is three years now since the government annulled the parliamentary seat won by the Communist Party and handed it over to Social-Democracy.

Now, after the fascist attack has been frustrated, it is particularly essential to set up a united front so as to consolidate the results of the victory and bar the way to further attempts to continue the fascist offensive.

The Twentieth Anniversary of the Foundation of the Communist Party of Sweden

TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SWEDEN:

WARMEST fighting greetings to the Communist Party of Sweden on the occasion of its twentieth anniversary.

For twenty years the Party has carried on an unswerving struggle against capitalist oppression, for the interests of the working class and all working people. As a section of the Communist International, from the moment of its foundation, the Communist Party of Sweden has always held high the banner of proletarian internationalism and been the expression and embodiment of the inviolable solidarity existing between the Swedish workers and the mighty, victorious land of socialism, the Soviet Union.

There can be no doubt that the Communist Party of Sweden, by basing itself on the experience it has accumulated during the last twenty years, by making its starting point the interests of the working class and principles of the great teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, will play an extremely important and honorable role in establishing complete and militant unity among the Swedish proletariat in the interests of all the working people of Sweden and in the struggle for unity in the ranks of the international working class movement.

In the face of the growing danger of aggression by German fascism which is encouraged by the forces of reaction in the Scandinavian countries, ever-growing significance is now assumed by the task of establishing the anti-fascist People's Front and of uniting the forces of all working class organizations and all progressive elements in the Scandinavian countries in defense of liberty and the independence of the peoples of these countries. This task can be solved by the international struggle in defense of universal peace against the fascist instigators of war. There can be no doubt that the Communist Party of Sweden will devote all its forces to the successful solution of these great tasks.

The important campaign of solidarity with the heroically fighting Spanish people being conducted by the people of Sweden is a source of great satisfaction to the international proletariat and all friends of democracy and peace.

We lower the banner of the Communist International to the memory of those courageous Swedish fighters who have shed their blood in the ranks of the International Brigade of the Spanish People's Army in the fighting round Madrid. And we raise the banner of the Comintern, confident in the final victory of the forces of liberty, peace and civilization over fascism and reaction throughout the world.

GEORGI DIMITROFF

* * *

MAY, 1937, saw the twentieth anniversary of the foundation of the Communist Party of Sweden. The Communist Party grew out of an opposition current inside Social-Democracy which

existed even in pre-war days and drew its strength chiefly from the Social-Democratic League of Youth. During the imperialist war of 1914-1918 the opposition began to embrace ever wider masses. Sweden took no direct part in the war, playing the role of "neutral" supplier of arms for all the imperialist armies. The rich piled up tremendous profits, but poverty reigned among the broad masses of working people. The Social-Democratic leaders pursued a policy of class collaboration, civil peace, refusal to struggle for demands which could improve the conditions of the working class and working peasantry. In the struggle against this policy, various opposition groups and currents inside Social-Democracy joined forces.

Hjalmar Branting, the leader of Social-Democracy at that time, tried to destroy the opposition at one fell blow at the Social-Democratic Party Congress held in February, 1917. The Congress expelled the opposition from the ranks of the party. After it became impossible to remain in the Social-Democratic Party, the members of the opposition gathered together to form a new party, but there was still much unclarity in their ranks on the fundamental questions of the international working class movement.

Lenin, who attentively followed the changes in the Swedish labor movement, foresaw the rise of a new party, but insisted above all on the elaboration of a revolutionary program and tactics for the party. In a letter to Kollontai dated March 5, 1917, Lenin wrote as follows on that point:

"Information in the press speaks of the convening on May 12 of a Congress of the Youth in Sweden to found a new party on 'Zimmerwald principles.'

"I must admit that this news is a source of especial agitation and indignation. For 'Zimmerwald' has clearly become bankrupt, and fine words are again serving to cover up decay. . . .

"Yet the Swedish Lefts, in the main, are *certainly* sincere. That is clear. And they must be helped at all costs before May 12 to understand in *advance* all the banality of social-pacifism and Kautskyism, helped to understand all the foulness of the Zimmerwald majority; helped to draw up a good program and tactics for the new party.

"Indeed, we must (all of us, Lefts in Sweden and all who can make contacts with them) rally together, exert every effort to help, for the moment is a decisive one in the life of the Swedish party, of the Swedish and Scandinavian labor movement."*

In May, 1917, the Left Socialist Party of Sweden was founded. This party played a big role in the struggle of the working class, working peasants, and urban middle strata in the years 1917-1918 for democratic reforms, and for universal suffrage. The Left Socialist Party headed the battles of the proletarian masses against high prices for foodstuffs and against the general high cost of living. But along with a strong proletarian core, the party consisted also of petty-bourgeois elements. The Left Socialist Party was by no means a revolutionary Marxist party; various petty-bourgeois anti-Marxist theories were current in its ranks and leadership.

But the proletarian core in the party was a healty one, and despite all difficulties, worked indefatigably to establish a united, revolutionary section of the Communist International, loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism. It was a lengthy process to overcome and drive out of the ranks of the party those elements who were alien to the cause of the revolution and the working class: and the process could not take place without sharp conflicts, crises and schisms.

The experience of the great socialist October Revolution, which also threw into sharp relief before the Swedish working class movement all the basic questions of the revolutionary struggle of the working class had a tremendous influence on the development of the Left Socialist Party, upon its elaboration of a clear Marxist-Leninist position.

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* Lenin, Vol. XIX, pp. 401-2, Russian Edition.

When it joined the Communist International, the party changed its name to the Communist Party of Sweden. In the course of a stubborn struggle, the party membership rejected the policy of their former leader, Hoeglund, which was hostile to the Comintern and directed against the foundations of Marxism-Leninism. In the year 1924 Hoeglund together with a group of his supporters had to leave the Communist Party of Sweden; soon afterwards he returned to the Social-Democratic Party in which he has ever since furiously resisted united action and the creation of a united working class front.

A short time later Flieg, a Right opportunist who later became a Trotskyite, penetrated into the party leadership; all his activities were directed towards undermining the prestige and influence of the young Communist Party of Sweden. All tendencies, opportunist and sectarian, hostile to the Comintern, found their advocate and defender in the person of Flieg. His policy brought the Communist Party of Sweden to a state of severe crisis. Flieg, together with Chilbum and Samuelson, succeeded in winning the majority in the Party leadership and in causing a split in 1929 which was a severe blow to the party. Flieg and Co. pursued their splitting activities in close collaboration with Brandler, Thalheimer and their lackeys who after their defeat at the Sixth Congress of the Comintern tried to continue their undermining work in the various Communist Parties, together with the wrecker Bukharin and others.

The minority of the Communist Party of Sweden, in consequence of certain mistakes they had made, could not prevent many honest workers who were disconcerted by the Trotskyites from allowing themselves to be drawn away from the Communist Party and the Comintern. The Swedish working class movement has not yet to this day rid itself of the Trotskyist wrecker Flieg.

The Communist Party of Sweden, which after the 1929 split had only about 6,000 members, has today almost 20,000 members. Its position is becoming stronger among the workers of Sweden, and is expressed not only in the numerical but also in the ideological growth of the Party, which is boldly and consistently raising all the questions of the class struggle and the international labor movement before the Swedish workers, and is training strong Party personnel.

The Seventh Congress of the Comintern helped the Communist Party of Sweden to criticize its mistakes and to set forth a correct line of tactics in the struggle for a united proletarian and anti-fascist People's Front.

It is particularly important now, when the desire for unity is growing ever stronger among the workers organized in the Social-Democratic Party, to explain to the masses the serious and successful work that has been done by the Communist Party of Sweden in the interests of the working class and of the entire Swedish people. Similar processes are also taking place in the small Socialist Party with which a considerable section of the workers who have opposed Flieg's wrecking policy have broken off connections.

The Communist Party of Sweden is raising the question before the Swedish workers of the political unity of the working class, of the creation of a united proletarian party on the basis laid down by Comrade Dimitroff at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. The necessary condition for the creation of such a party is the establishment of united action among all working class parties.

In his telegram of greeting on the twentieth anniversary of the foundation of the Communist Party, Comrade Dimitroff points to the great dimensions assumed in Sweden by the solidarity movement with Republican Spain. There are about 300 local "Aid to Spain" committees in Sweden, which express the real desire of wide masses of the people to fight against the robber intervention of German and Italian fascism in Spain.

The effective solidarity displayed by the Swedish proletarians and working

people generally in the cause of the Spanish people has been sealed by the blood of the courageous sons of the Swedish people who are fighting in the ranks of the Spanish Republican army.

The solidarity movement with the Spanish people is at the same time an index of the growing desire to defend the democratic rights and liberties won by the Swedish people in long and difficult battles; a desire to defend the independence and sovereign rights of Sweden and all the Scandinavian countries which are menaced by aggression from Hitler fascism.

In his telegram Comrade Dimitroff stressed the greatness of the task which falls to the lot of the Communist Party of Sweden in the struggle to set up a strong peace front and an anti-fascist People's Front in the Scandinavian countries. The Communist Party of Sweden resolutely supports the slogan of a defensive alliance of the Northern countries against the menace of Hitler invasion.

The Communist Party of Sweden marked its anniversary with a big mass campaign. Many meetings and demonstrations were held throughout the country; the celebrations ended in a huge demonstration in Stockholm, in which representatives of the Party leadership and active Party members of long standing from all districts of the country took part.

Drive the Trotskyist Wreckers Out of the Labor Movement

THE Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, having discussed the decisions of the February Plenary Session of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U., adopted a resolution which says that the plenum, which drew political lessons from the espionage and diversionist work of the Trotskyist agents of fascism, is of tremendous importance, not only for the C.P.S.U., but also for the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries and for the entire international working class movement.

The foul espionage and wrecking work undertaken by the Trotskyists on behalf of the Gestapo and Japanese secret service and directed against socialism and Soviet power in the U.S.S.R. is indissolubly linked up with the foul provocative work of the Trotskyists in the working class movement of the capitalist countries. There, in close touch and connected with police agents, or as direct agents of the police they strive, at the orders of fascism, to disorganize the working class movement, to deepen the split therein, to prevent the formation of a united working class and People's Front where it is taking shape and, where it already exists, as, for example, in Spain and France, to undermine it from within.

The Trotskyists penetrate not only into the Communist Parties but also into other working class organizations, such as the Social-Democratic Parties and trade unions, and the working class youth organizations, and strive, at the orders of fascism, to wreck them and thereby to render the working class impotent and, by provoking scattered, disorganized actions, to bring the workers to defeat. At the orders of fascism, the Trotskyists engage in a struggle against the anti-fascist movement of the masses of the people, slander the anti-fascist organizations and discredit them, and carry on intrigues against those states where the parliamentary regime still exists, thereby helping fascism and supporting the aggressive military measures of the fascist states.

At the orders of fascism, the Trotskyists act as the instigators of imperialist and counter-revolutionary wars, first and foremost against the U.S.S.R.; and as the bitterest enemies of the independence and liberty of the peoples, are striving to bring about the dismemberment of small states and the enslavement of small nations by the fascist states.

In the colonial and semi-colonial countries, oppressed by foreign imperialism, the Trotskyists direct their blows not against imperialism, the chief oppressor of the working class and the whole of the people, but against the anti-imperialist People's Front. In China the Trotskyists have been unmasked as hired agents of the Japanese secret service who fulfil the role of assassins and spies operating against active workers of the Chinese Communist Party, which is fighting to create a united national anti-Japanese front.

It must be borne in mind that Trotsky and the Trotskyists, like all provocateurs, camouflage their real aims, their assistance to fascism in its evil plans, behind "Left" phrases, not infrequently hiding

behind false references to Lenin. But whatever the Trotskyists may say in words, their deeds show them to be fighting not against fascism in Germany, but against socialism in the U.S.S.R.; not against Franco and the fascist interventionists in Spain, but against the government of the People's Front, against the Republican Army; not against Hitler and Mussolini, but against the anti-fascist People's Front; not against those who are splitting the ranks of the working class in the interests of fascism, but against those who are uniting them in the interests of the revolution. The Trotskyists everywhere are striving to disrupt and destroy the working class organizations, and prevent them from consolidating their ranks.

This wrecking role played by Trotskyism in the working class movement of the capitalist countries demands all the more attention from the sections of the Comintern since the working class movement in the capitalist countries has not at its disposal against the Trotskyist spies and provocateurs the means of defense such as are in the hands of the proletarian state; since Trotskyism in the capitalist countries is backed and financed by the blackest forces of world reaction (Hitler, Mussolini, Hearst, the Comité des Forges, the Japanese militarists, etc.); since the "Left" phrases of Trotskyism enable it occasionally to mislead Social-Democratic workers who are swinging to the Left, and to direct their sentiments of opposition to the policy of Social-Democracy along counter-revolutionary channels, in favor of fascism, against the forces of peace and liberty, against the interests of the working class, against socialism!

Comrade Stalin's indication that Communists failed to notice the conversion of Trotskyism from the political current in the working class such as it was seven and eight years ago, into a wild, unprincipled gang of spies, diversionists, terrorists and wreckers, applies with still greater foundation to the sections of the Communist International, since it is precisely in the Communist movement of the capitalist countries that opinions are current which to this day regard Trotskyism as a political current in the working class movement.

The Presidium of the E.C.C.I. notes that many responsible workers of the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries, as well as workers of the Communist International, did not display the vigilance they should have done toward Trotskyism, and failed to give timely warning of the process taking place of the merging of Trotskyism with fascism, even though all the acts of the Trotskyists showed the fundamental political line of Trotskyism to coincide with that of fascism; neither did they notice in good time that the capitalist world, and the fascist states, first and foremost, are resorting to new methods of struggle against the U.S.S.R. and the international working class movement, resorting in particular to the organization of their network of spies and provocateurs made up of Trotskyist cadres.

The only explanation that can be given for the fact that the foul campaign of slander conducted for many years by the fascist blackguards Trotsky, Souvarine, Eastman and Sheflo, against Socialism and the world Communist movement has frequently not met with the necessary rebuff in the pages of the Communist press is that there has been a blunting of Bolshevik vigilance.

The only explanation that can be given for the fact that, in spite of the glaring facts of the open treachery of the P.O.U.M. in Spain, it has been able to operate freely in the rear of the Republican troops and organize counter-revolutionary putsches on orders from the fascist command, is that our explanatory work regarding the real counter-revolutionary role played by Trotskyism has been weak.

The only explanation that can be given for the fact that Trotskyists have been able to penetrate such organizations as the I.L.P. in Great Britain, the Socialist Party in the U.S.A., the "Young Guard"

in Belgium, etc., is that Trotskyism has not been adequately exposed as an agency of fascism. The underestimation of the tremendous importance of Marxist-Leninist theory, and the absence of systematic work to raise the ideological and political level of the Communists in the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries have led to a situation where in a number of localities Party organizations have not been politically capable of hindering the penetration into their ranks of fascist-Trotskyist spies and provocateurs.

Bearing in mind the lessons of the plenary session of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U., and also the experiences of the sections of the C.I. themselves in carrying on the struggle against the provocative work of the Trotskyists, the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. decided:

1. To instruct the sections of the C.I. to launch a systematic struggle both at meetings and in the press against Trotskyism as the agency of fascism, using for the purpose the data provided by the trials of the anti-Soviet Zinoviev-Trotskyist and the parallel Trotskyist centers. To rally the vigilance of the workers against the provocative work of the Trotskyists, and to aim at having them driven out of the ranks of the labor movement as fascist agents.

2. To introduce into the program of Party schools a special *course on the struggle against fascism and its Trotskyist agents*, using for this purpose the factual material regarding the espionage and disorganizing work of the Trotskyists in the U.S.S.R., Spain, the international labor movement, and particularly in the labor movement of the country for the workers of which the course is intended.

3. Systematically to conduct widespread propaganda work, both orally and in the press, right throughout the Party, to explain the counter-revolutionary role of Trotskyism as the agency of fascism, paying particular attention to the provision of arguments exposing the "Left" phrases of the Trotskyists which actually camouflage the fascist disintegrating work conducted by the Trotskyists in the labor movement. On the basis of factual material to bring to the light of day the espionage and provocative work of the Trotskyists as agents of the class enemy, their methods of penetrating Party organizations, and of disintegrating working class organizations, and the ways and means of protecting the Party against Trotskyist spies and provocateurs.

4. To rouse the Party organizations to the exposure of Trotskyist-minded elements who cover up their radical disagreement with the policy of the Party and the Comintern behind all kinds of reservations concerning the tactical line of the Party; incessantly to teach Communists to recognize and unmask the enemy, by demanding of such elements unequivocal and clear answers on the following questions: their attitude to the U.S.S.R. and the leadership of the C.P.S.U., to the tactical line of the Seventh Congress, to the united front and unity of the labor movement, to fascism and the policy of the anti-fascist People's Front. At the same time it is essential to distinguish between Trotskyist agents of fascism and honest workers who have accidentally fallen under the influence of Trotskyism.

5. To purge Party organizations of double-dealing Trotskyist elements, sent there by the class enemy with a view to disorganizing the Communist Parties; to remove from responsible posts former Trotskyists who have not proved by their work over a number of years that they have sincerely broken with Trotskyism and are truly loyal to the Party and the cause of the working class.

In the interests of the successful struggle against Trotskyism, the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. emphasized the supreme importance of the profound study of the theory of Marxism-Leninism so as to raise the ideological and political level of the active workers of the Comintern and its sections. In particular, the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. resolved to point out to the Central Committees of

the Communist Parties the need for raising to a higher level the study of the history of the C.P.S.U., the history of the consistent and irreconcilable struggle of the Bolsheviks for the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism against all kinds of distortions of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice, spread about by Trotskyists who have degenerated into agents of fascism and the Rights who stand for the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R.

In view of the fact that in the U.S.S.R. the Rights, who stand for the restoration of capitalism, have joined forces with the Trotskyists and become their accomplices in the fulfilment of the instructions of the fascists, and that in a number of countries the Right elements support the Trotskyists in their attacks against the U.S.S.R., the C.P.S.U. and the Comintern — the Communist Parties must, while developing the struggle against Trotskyism, at the same time explain to the masses the counter-revolutionary character of the Right degenerates.

With a view to giving concrete shape to the tasks facing each section of the Communist International in carrying on the struggle against Trotskyism, the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. recommended all sections to discuss and study the present decision right throughout the Party, beginning with the highest Party bodies (the Political Bureau, the Party C.C.), down to the primary Party organizations, bearing in mind in addition that the struggle against Trotskyism is no temporary political campaign but an everyday, permanent task facing each Party organization and every Communist, is the affair of every working class organization which values its integrity and the purity of its ranks, and bearing in mind that the unmasking of Trotskyism is a component part of the struggle of the working class against fascism and war, and for the final victory of labor over capital, for the victory of socialism throughout the world.

Trotskyist Reserves in Rumania

BY I. STANKI

IN RUMANIA, as in many other countries, all that has ever been thrown out of the labor movement at various times as something alien, rotten and hostile finds shelter in the filthy Trotskyist nests; all that has ever tacked itself on to the working class movement in order to disintegrate it, and that has left the movement to begin a desperate, irreconcilable struggle against it, become the reserve of Trotskyism. Some have taken this road of treachery by opening fire on the Communist Party from the Right; others have come forward with nebulous "Left" phraseology; yet others have failed to withstand the test in the dungeons of the secret police; and finally there are those who have sold themselves voluntarily.

In Rumania the so-called "Party of Unitarian Socialists" has become the Trotskyist nest, the agency of fascism. This "party" was formed as far back as 1929, its chief cadres being made up of the worst elements who had left Social-Democracy, and renegades thrown out of the Communist Party. The "Party of Unitarian Socialists" arose in the period of the growing economic and political struggle of the working class, and of intense terror against the Communists. At first it fought against Communism from the Right, trying to win, to seize hold of the workers who were leaving Social-Democracy. The further Leftward swing of the workers forced the "Party of Unitarian Socialists" to resort to the use of "Left" phraseology. After Gelerter, chief boss of this party, had an interview in Norway with the super-bandit Trotsky, this "party" mastered once and for all the whole arsenal of Trotskyist methods, including duplicity dressed up in a "Left" garb.

This counter-revolutionary, treacherous Trotskyist position soon made its stand apparent on all the main questions which are today the touchstone for all groups and organizations. The "unitarian Socialists" were violently opposed to the united front, to working class unity; they made especial efforts, and are still so doing, to undermine trade union unity, and are using all possible methods to prevent the creation of a strong united General Confederation of Labor.

They are opposed to the People's Front and strive their utmost to undermine the solidarity of the popular democratic forces. To this end they reject the slogan of the People's Front and in a provocative fashion set against it the demagogic slogan of a "proletarian bloc," the essence of which is the attempt to isolate the proletariat from their allies. During the municipal elections in May, 1937, the "unitarian Socialists," together with supporters of the government and fascists, opposed the agreement arrived at among the democratic parties.

The "unitarian Socialists" excel themseives in anti-Soviet slander and do everything possible to undermine the sympathy and confidence of the masses in the Soviet Union. At the time when Kirov was murdered, the "unitarian Socialists" indulged in foul, slanderous attacks against the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Union. Of course they defended their accomplices, the Japano-German-Trotskyist agents, and just as foully do they excel themselves in slandering and at-

tacking the Communist Party of Rumania.

On all these questions the "unitarian Socialists" occupy a common front with the fascist "Iron Guard," an organization with which a number of the leaders of this "party" are very closely connected.

It goes without saying that the Rumanian police, who utilize Trotskyist agents for their own purposes and organize "Trotskyist factions" in Rumania, give their full support to the "unitarian Socialists." At the trial of railwaymen in the summer of 1934, one of the accused, Petrescu, made the following statement among others:

"While still the secretary of the Bucharest organization of the 'unitarian Socialist' party I went to the Prefecture to obtain permission to hold a meeting. At first the Commissar of the Prefecture said: 'I will grant no permission,' but after searching in an index-file, he suddenly exclaimed: 'That's Dr. Gelerter's party.' On my replying in the affirmative the Commissar granted me the necessary permission with the polite remark, moreover, that Mr. Gelerter's party enjoys complete freedom!"

Commissioner Ananio, the hangman serving in the Bucharest Prefecture, who has earned for himself universal hatred, advises prisoners as he beats them up to join Gelerter's party: "Gelerter's party is more Left than the Communist," is the way he agitates.

A gang of renegades thrown out of the ranks of the labor movement form the leadership of this "party." For example, Stepan Voytek is personally connected with the fascist "iron guard"; Christescu, an adventurer expelled from the Party twelve years ago is now engaged in speculation and business of a dubious character. Fifteen years ago, when Christescu was in the ranks of the labor movement, Professor Iorga estimated him as follows: "Christescu is only 'Red' outside, inside he is tri-colored." Christescu's connection with the secret police and his role as informer are generally known.

With him is Ilyia Dumitru, long ago expelled from the Communist Party for embezzlement and hindering the struggle of the workers in the Lemetre works in Bucharest. Dumitru was immediately chosen "party leader" by Gelerter. At an open meeting in Ploetsch, this Dumitru informed on Comrade Vasilikis, by naming him as the organizer of the strike. At the trial of railwaymen, Comrade Vasilikis was sentenced to twenty years' hard labor.

Besides Dumitru and Christescu, there is the former Anarchist Feler, the adventurer Lampu, and others, thrown overboard by the labor movement.

A glaring example of one who has fallen to the lowest depths is the Trotskyist Wurmbrand, a renegade, an obvious provocateur, an agent both of the police and of the fascist "iron guard." Wurmbrand betrayed thirty workers to the secret police in Timishore, and helped Urbachev, the commissar of secret police, to stage a trial against them: at this trial sentences meted out amounted to hundreds of years' hard labor. Wurmbrand assisted the butchers of the secret police to flog and torture arrested antifascists.

The secret police entrusted Wurmbrand with the work of creating a "Trotskyist faction" in the Communist Party of Rumania. It was the usual method, especially adopted in fascist countries. In Germany, Italy and Poland, the secret police strive in that way to undermine the Communist Party and establish their agents there. But Wurmbrand failed to carry out this "task." He was unmasked by the Party as a Trotskyist and provocateur, but he still continues openly to carry on his Trotskyist work for the police. He now tries to recruit and provoke people by means of Trotskyist agitation; he even reads lectures for the "iron guard" and distributes Trotskyist "literature."

The purveyor of all this dirty Trotskyist concoction in Rumania is the "plenipotentiary agent of Trotsky," Barbu Eftimiu, who takes part in the meetings of the so-called Fourth International as

the "representative from Rumania." After a long sojourn in France, he suddenly made his appearance in Rumania, meeting, of course, with no obstacles at all on the part of the secret police. Eftimiu organizes the translation of Trotskyist concoctions into Rumanian, openly reads lectures and spreads slander against the Communist Party and the Soviet Union.

For all its insignificance, Trotskyism in Rumania nevertheless constitutes a danger, first and foremost because of the fact that it enjoys the support of the entire state apparatus, the support of the bourgeoisie. It is also dangerous because, side by side with its open counter-revolutionary work which is directed against the unity of the workers and the anti-fascist movement, it uses the same insidious methods of deceit and double-dealing as used by the Japano-German-Trotskyist agents in the Soviet Union and other countries; it worms its way even into the ranks of our Party, hiding its true nature behind agreement with the Party's political line. By means of these methods, Trotskyist agents succeed in penetrating even into the most important organs of the Party. Recently the Party exposed two Trotskyist double-dealers in the central staff of the Party.

The Trotskyists are worming their way into the ranks of the Social-Democratic Party and trying to use its organizations and its press for their own undermining work. They use "Left" phrases to mislead the Leftward-moving Social-Democratic workers, and at the same time play on the reactionary feelings of certain of the leaders. While striving to sow strife between the Communist and Socialist Parties, and to prevent united action, they set the Social-Democrats against the Communist Party, against the Soviet Union.

Our Party has not always been able to recognize the enemy in time. In particular, our Party failed soon enough to mark the real nature of the "unitarian Socialists," and especially their renegade ruling clique, and failed soon enough to expose the fact of their conversion into agents of Trotskyism.

The Communists are still not adequately mobilized for the struggle against the Trotskyist agents inside their own party. The work of unmasking the criminal methods of Trotskyism is far from adequate. Equally inadequate are our efforts to show the Trotskyists in their true colors to the Social-Democratic workers and the aims they are serving in penetrating into the Social-Democratic Party.

One of the reasons for this, as the Political Bureau of our Party has pointed out on more than one occasion, is the extremely poor state of the political-educational work done, and in some cases even the complete absence of such work. We must raise the ideological level and Bolshevik temper of the members of our Party, and improve their vigilance.

Such Bolshevik training will equip the Communist Party for a successful struggle against the enemies of the working class, the enemies of the whole of the Rumanian people.

Strike Struggles and the Labor Movement in Canada

BY N. MORGAN

DURING the last few months there has been a growing wave of strikes in Canada.

The chairman of the Royal Bank of Canada in his report to the sixty-eighth annual meeting of the shareholders declared that the volume of production in the manufacturing industries "in October reached the highest point recorded since July, 1929." The amount of electrical energy generated in 1936 exceeded that of 1935 by about 9 per cent. Iron and steel production exceeded the volume attained in 1926 by 40 per cent and the leather, boot and shoe production for the year exceeded that of the past year by about 20 per cent. Increase of production is to be seen in the newsprint industry, textile, agricultural implements and foodstuffs, electrical equipment and numerous other industries. The national income reached the total of $4,545,000,000, being $452,000,000 higher than that of 1935.

The Toronto Stock Exchange, in reports of net earnings and dividends of the companies listed in 1936, reported recovery of net earnings to within 10 per cent of the peak earnings before 1929, and dividends to almost the peak dividend payments. Dividends alone total close to $260,000,000, an increase of about 30,000,000 over 1935; this is an increase of 87 per cent over 1933, which was the low point of the crisis.

On the other hand, according to the Dominion Department of Labor, the total number of people on relief at the end of November, 1936, was 1,100,025, as compared with 1,036,459 in the same month of 1935. To this number should be added about 250,000 farmers and their families in the drought areas. Another 100,000 on placement schemes and farms, make the imposing and shaking total of over 1,400,000 people, or one-eighth of the population of Canada dependent on relief.

Production increased by 41.6 per cent over the low crisis point of 1933, and is still increasing, although unevenly. Unemployment increased by about 8 per cent as compared with 1935. This is not all. Here is a statement by Miss Charlotte Witton, O.B.E., Director of the Canadian Welfare Council:

"Payment of relief grants in hundreds of municipalities carefully calculated to provide the minimum needs of life, but which prove to be in excess of prevailing earnings or average income for full-time workers in their usual occupations, presents a new aspect which bids fair to become one of the most perplexing features of the Canadian relief picture."

With 1,400,000 people depending on relief, wages of employed workers at the crisis level, profits to the "big shots" increased by 87 per cent compared to the low crisis point.

Rationalization speed-ups have increased to an inhuman degree; per capita production practically doubled.

It is on the background of this situation that the Canadian workers are organizing into trade unions and are demanding increases in wages and recognition of their unions.

In the thick of the preparation for May Day 3,700 automobile workers went out on strike at the General Motors

Plant in Oshawa. The great organizational drive going on in the U.S.A. led by John L. Lewis and the C.I.O. has finally gripped the Canadian working class. The struggle of the auto workers has brought about a changed situation in the country. The Hepburn Liberal government in Ontario openly came out on the side of the American-controlled General Motors, against the workers and their union. The attitude of Prime Minister Hepburn to the strike resulted in a crisis in the Cabinet; two Ministers resigned, the Minister of Labor, Croll, and the Attorney General Mr. Roebuck. This Hepburn the "Liberal," who posed as a friend of labor, finally came out in his true colors as the representative of reactionary finance capital. He shifted his base from where it appeared before to be resting, on the masses, to rest now on the rich farmers and reactionary finance capital, the people that he represented all the time, and those who will supply the funds for his coming election in the province.

Hepburn raised the old cry of "foreigner"—the C.I.O. is a foreign organization, it is connected with the Communist Party, he declared. He further threatened that he would not allow the C.I.O. to come to Canada, even if he had to use state force. He demanded of the federal government the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. The federal government, which is also a Liberal government, was not in full agreement with Hepburn's policy; it was too crude for them, it played into the hands of the Conservative Party. An open rift took place between the Liberal government in Ontario, the most important province in the country, and the federal Liberal government. Hepburn immediately organized his own police force—four hundred students were hired and began to train. The lie of "foreigners" was exposed when, while refusing to deal with Auto Workers Union, he openly supported the manager of General Motors, an American and an American-controlled factory.

Not only the whole labor movement, industrial and craft unions alike, the Communist Party and the C.C.F. (Socialist Party), but also Liberals, such an important paper as the *Toronto Daily Star* with a quarter of a million daily circulation, and ministers of the church came to the support of the auto workers. The strike was won—a 44-hour week, increase in wages, seniority rights, recognition of the union. This showed the great power of unity, what unity and progress can accomplish.

As soon as this strike was settled, two more plants of General Motors, one in St. Catherine and another in Windsor, signed an agreement with the company without a strike, winning conditions similar to those of the Oshawa workers. Over 5,000 auto workers out of about 25,000 workers in the industry are now in the auto union. All this in a few months of consistent work on the part of the C.I.O., supported by the whole labor movement.

A great organization drive is also taking place in the steel and metal industry, employing about 125,000 workers. Workers in the gold and nickel mines are rapidly organizing into the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' International Union, an affiliate to the C.I.O. It is this drive in the metal mines that reactionary finance capital fears most, since they are piling up huge profits, taking advantage of the $35 an ounce of gold, and the fact that Canada possesses about 90 per cent of the world nickel.

Nickel is now in great demand because of the war preparations in the capitalist world. A bitter strike is going on in the textile industry of Toronto, several strikes have taken place in the rubber, furniture, boot and shoe industries, and 5,000 dressmakers struck work in Montreal. All of these strikes have been terminated in favor of the workers. Canadian labor is demanding a share of the huge profits made by the industrialists.

This strike wave and organization have brought about a shifting of class forces. The Tory Liberal Hepburn has proposed to the Conservatives the formation of a union government; reaction is concentrating. The Tory strategists have

not accepted this offer. They want the whole government and are now coming out with the most demagogic program for the right of labor to organize into any union of their choice. Labor, they say, has a right to demand a greater share of the profits, while the manufacturers are to blame for the strikes, because they are not considerate enough of their employees. They are trying to cash in on the situation and capture the government for reaction.

The labor movement is becoming alive to this danger of reaction. The Party is calling upon the trade unions, the C.C.F., to the progressive liberals and the farmers, to unite against this great danger and prepare for the elections to secure victory for a progressive government which will fulfil a program that corresponds to the interests of the people.

The C.C.F., the Right-wing leadership, the centrists, who opposed unity up until now, are taking some steps towards unity. They are speaking of calling a convention of all democratic organizations. But there is great danger here; these leaders declare they are willing to unite with all organizations that "are opposed to all forms of dictatorship." Apparently they mean to exclude the Communist Party, which stands for the dictatorship of the proletariat leading toward real democracy as exemplified in the great Stalin Constitution. The Communist Party must be included in this democratic bloc.

The Communist Party of Canada, with over 12,000 members, is playing an important role in the strike struggles and developed great activity in the preparation of and the carrying through of a most successful May Day. The members of our Party worked with the Socialists and the trade unionists. The Party was successful in connecting the tradition of May Day with the struggles for the daily needs of the Canadian people who desire peace, democracy and economic security for the working people. Those Right-wing leaders of the C.C.F. who refused to participate in May Day were placed in an isolated position as the Party succeeded in drawing many clubs and local committees of the C.C.F. into the May Day preparations and demonstration.

Over 100,000 people—Communists, Socialists, trade unionists, church people, youth, women and children—participated in the greatest May Day demonstrations and parades in Canada's labor history.

The great significance of the May Day demonstrations consisted not only in their size, but also in their unity and clarity of purpose, and determination to unite all progressive forces for peace, democracy and economic security for the working people. The demonstrations, the speeches and slogans were directed against growing reaction, against the "50 big shots" against the 1937 "Family Compact" that is strangling the young country of Canada.

All the mass meetings were turned into demonstrations for Spain, the money collected went to Spain, the slogans, banners and floats bore slogans in relation to Spain. Of the 40,000 demonstrators in Toronto, thousands wore Spanish caps. The main theme song for the May Day demonstrations was the Spanish government anthem: *"No Pasaran"* (*They Shall Not Pass*). *"Democracy Shall Win"* was one of the main slogans in the demonstration.

The organizations which took part in the united front movement in support of Spanish democracy and against the fascist interventionists have collected big sums of money to maintain and extend the Canadian Blood Transfusion Unit in Spain under the leadership of the outstanding Canadian specialist, Dr. Norman Bethune, to send a shipload of food to the people of Bilbao, and to establish a home for the children, orphans, whose parents have given their lives to defend their fatherland against fascism. This latter action has been under the leadership of the Canadian Youth Committee for the defense of Spanish democracy.

The same organizations contributed their share of close to four hundred Canadians, including many French Canadians, to participate in the front line

trenches in Spain in the glorious International Brigade. They are organized in a Canadian unit, the William Lyon MacKenzie-Papineau unit, bearing the name of two men who one hundred years ago in 1837 led the struggle in Canada for responsible government, for democracy against the "Family Compact."

The leaders and membership of the organization, the hundreds of trade unions, Socialist clubs, Communist organizations, fraternal and cultural organizations, native Canadians, as well as foreign-born workers, well understand the close connection of the struggle in Spain with the struggles at home.

The Canadian people understand that the outcome in Spain will decide to a great extent the all-important question facing Canada and all countries, namely, the maintenance of peace or the plunging of the whole human race into another world slaughter.

This is very significant when one realizes that parochialism is still strong among the broad section of the Canadian people.

Considerable sections of the Canadian people are carried away with the agitation for "neutrality" and "splendid isolation." The Communist Party issued a statement on the eve of the departure of the government delegation to the Imperial Conference. In this statement over the signature of the General Secretary of the Party, Comrade Tim Buck, the demand was made that Canada be unhitched from the National Government's war policy. The statement called for the pursuance of an *independent Canadian foreign policy making for peace*. The Canadian foreign policy, it said, should be decided in Canada and not, as at present, in Downing Street.

The Party demanded that Canada should undertake no military commitments at the Imperial Conference. It came out against the scheme of the arch-reactionaries for "imperial defense," a scheme according to which Canada will participate automatically in any war that British imperialism may become involved in. The Party demanded that the King government exert its influence in the Imperial Confernce together with the other dominions, demanding that the National Government stop its present policy of giving direct and indirect support to German and Italian fascism. Instead of this, to return to the policy of collective security, to strengthen the League of Nations, to curb the main instigators of war, to align itself with the Soviet Union and France and build a strong peace bloc in the world of which the Canadian government would be prepared to become part.

The people in the dominions, particularly in Canada, are in ever greater numbers realizing that to continue to support the foreign policy of the National government will draw the people of the dominions into another world slaughter.

The Sports Movement and the United Front

IN MANY countries sport is enjoyed by large sections of the population. Millions of working people go in for sports and gymnastics. There are still more friends of sport who follow with tense interest the results of games played in the stadiums, and take a lively interest in the more important sporting events. In a number of countries the sports movement covers wider sections of working people than any other movement of the people. It is difficult to give even an approximate estimate of the number of active sportsmen who engage systematically in physical exercises. In the chief capitalist countries alone, according to extremely approximate data published in the sporting newspapers, the sports organizations cover over 50,000,000 active sportsmen.

In capitalist countries, only an extremely small section of the factory workers and working people in general who go in for sport are to be found in the working class sports organizations affiliated to the Red Sports International or the Socialist Workers Sports International.

An absolute majority of worker sportsmen belong to mass organizations which are still under the influence of the bourgeoisie. If we exclude the many millions in the sports movement of the Soviet Union, there are some half a million members in the working class sports organizations of all the remaining countries.

The sports movement affords tremendous possibilities for rallying and organizing the masses for the anti-fascist struggle. However, in some cases the attitude of Socialists and Communists towards sports work has been one of neglect; they have regarded it as something which only served to turn the attention of the workers away from politics. And wherever they did pay any attention at all to sports, they did so only in regard to working class sports organizations. The bigger mass sports organizations still under the influence of the bourgeoisie were left without adequate attention for the active anti-fascists.

Important progressive forces are active inside the mass sports movement. Masses of sportsmen are interested in the free development of sport, in improving the conditions necessary for its development, and first and foremost for the working people. Making their starting point their specific interests and demands, they are in some parts already engaged in the struggle against fascism and reaction in their own field, and are thus joining in the common cause of anti-fascism.

In the interests of the struggle against fascism and reaction, it has become essential for all anti-fascists and in particular for Communists radically to review their attitude towards the sports movement. They must now make close contact with millions of sportsmen and actively defend their interests, so as to develop a broad progressive sports movement on this basis.

The attempts mechanically to set up a sports movement on the basis of party politics have actually narrowed its basis and led to sectarian aloofness. The fundamental flaw in this policy is that it is not the outcome of specific sporting interests and the demands of sportsmen in the mass. Yet it is precisely these specific interests of the sportsmen that constitute the link which, if seized upon,

will make it possible to draw masses of sportsmen for the active struggle against reaction and fascism, for the maintenance of peace and the strengthening of the ties of friendship among the peoples.

* * *

Certain successes are to be observed in Czechoslovakia in the achievement of united action in the sports movement. In 1936, various sports organizations decided to boycott the fascist sports Olympiad in Berlin and organized a people's sports festival in Prague. A joint committee which included representatives of twenty-eight sports organizations was set up to make preparations for this festival. For the first time the Prague Stadium saw the meeting of members of the Red sports unions and Social-Democratic and bourgeois sportsmen, for the first time amateur sportsmen played against professionals. The sports festival turned into a political demonstration of the supporters of peace; speeches were delivered there in defense of the system of collective security, and at the conclusion of the games, the sportsmen formed the word "Peace" on the green field of the stadium.

The joint committee of people's sport continued its work after the festival as well, and took the initiative on a number of questions of interest to sportsmen. It proposed, for example, that light athletic sports which still are at a low level in Czechoslovakia, be widely developed. Further, the committee took up the defense of the "Sokol" Society gymnasts, whose performances at the Berlin Olympiad were given an openly biased and far too low estimation by the fascist judges. The anti-fascist sportsmen made known the truth to the whole of public opinion in Czechoslovakia concerning the attitude of the fascists in Berlin to the "Sokol," and thus for the first time came into close contact with this powerful gymnastic society.

October 28 is a national holiday in Czechoslovakia; it is the anniversary of the declaration of the independence of the Czech republic in 1918. On that date in 1936 the People's Sports Committee, together with the Czech Peace Committee (set up in connection with the Brussels Peace Congress) organized a mass cross-country run to the castle of President Benes. The runners handed Benes a collective letter which contained the sportsmen's demands, and stated that in the interests of the best defense of peace, in the interests of improving the defense of Czechoslovakia, mass sports must be given encouragement, stadiums built, etc.

As the example of Czechoslovakia shows, it is possible for working class organizations to make close contact with other sporting organizations, to find a common language with their members, to take the initiative in rallying the progressive forces of the sports movement. Such an approach will help the working class sports organizations not only draw masses of sportsmen into the anti-fascist struggle, but also to gather strength themselves, to increase in numbers and improve the quality of their work. Unfortunately, the Social-Democratic sports organizations in Czechoslovakia still do not want a united working class sports movement. Yet unity of this kind would greatly help to rally the Czech sportsmen against Henlein and the other fascists who are trying to strengthen their positions in the sports movement.

In Finland also, a country where almost the whole of the people are interested and participate in sports, the question of joint work between the working class and bourgeois sports organizations is being raised in a new fashion.

The working class sports union of Finland is a mass organization with profound traditions of the class struggle, working class sportsmen having taken an active part in the revolutionary battles in 1918. During the years of the fascist offensive in Finland, the workers' sports union was menaced with forcible "unification." Recently, however, thanks to the increasing activity of the democratic forces in the country, the position of

the workers' sports union has improved: it is once more in receipt of a state grant, and has obtained the right to maintain its organizational independence.

This being the case, the workers' sports league has been afforded an opportunity of making close contacts with the mass sports organizations which are under bourgeois leadership. Many workers and peasants who are naturally inclined towards the struggle for democracy belong to these sports organizations. An illustration of the feeling among Finnish sportsmen may be seen, for example, in the fact that their delegation to the Berlin Olympiad refused to greet Hitler in fascist style, by raising the arm. The Finnish sportsmen returned from the Olympiad in a state of indignation at the way the German fascists behaved towards them. Even certain conservative newspapers in Finland wrote afterwards that the Berlin Olympiad was not a sports competition but a piece of advertisement for Hitler.

Recently Finnish working class sportsmen have begun to compete against members of other sports organizations, something they have hitherto refrained from doing. These competitions cover individual enterprises, while frequently the workers who take part in them form the majority in the given enterprise.

There are many first-class sportsmen in the Finnish working class sports League. Until quite recently they refused to participate in international competitions together with bourgeois sportsmen from their country. Bourgeois sporting organizations, on the other hand, defend the view (especially following certain defeats of Finnish sportsmen at the Berlin Olympiad) that Finland should rally together all its forces in the sphere of sport so as to appear on the international arena. It is to be expected that participation in international contests will give working class sportsmen a chance of increasing their influence over sportsmen in bourgeois organizations. Joint appearances on the sports field will naturally be followed by a joint movement in defense of the demands of sportsmen—for better stadiums, premises, etc. This will help to eradicate the harmful method practised in the sporting world of enticing the best sportsmen from the working class organizations into bourgeois organizations. United action in the sphere of sport will create the necessary conditions for a joint movement in Finland against fascism and war and for democracy and peace.

The overwhelming majority of the workers of Sweden belong to a general sports league under bourgeois leadership; there are very few working class sports leagues. Recently the working class sportsmen themselves have felt the need for rearranging the sports movement so that the more progressive of the sportsmen should not be isolated from the masses. The Congress of the Workers' Sports Federation which took place in 1936 made a decision that working class sports leagues fuse with the general sports league. This has already been brought about in part. And those working class sports leagues which still preserve their organizational independence are collaborating with the general sports organizations and meeting them in competition. Working class sportsmen together with a section of the bourgeois sportsmen successfully conducted a boycott campaign against the Berlin fascist Olympiad (linking it up with a demand for the release of Jansen and Miner, two Swedish sailors, arrested by the Gestapo in Germany). Prominent sportsmen in a big center like Goteborg refused to go to the Olympiad.

In the leadership of the Swedish sports leagues there are certainly reactionary elements and officers; but there are also democratic elements. It is quite possible for the workers who have joined these leagues to establish a broad front of all the progressive forces of the sports movement inside them.

In 1935, in Norway, unity was finally reached in the formerly split working class sports movement, while after the achievement of this unity the membership of the working class sports leagues

doubled in a short period of time. Today the Workers' Sports Federation has 65,000 members (and all the other sports unions about 130,000). This united league has obtained from the government full and equal rights with the united sports leagues under bourgeois leadership. This equality of rights concerns the use of stadiums, government subsidies, and so on. True, the government set one condition, namely, that the workers' sports league "refrain from political activity."

Sportsmen belonging to various sports leagues but to the same trade union and often even working in the same factory have begun to meet at competitions for the first time. The Norwegian trade union leadership recently issued a letter to all its organizations proposing that sports committees be set up in the trade unions to draw members of the trade unions into sports. Thus, all the necessary conditions exist in Norway for strengthening the working class sports movement with the aid of the trade unions and for establishing permanent collaboration between the working class and non-working class sports organizations.

In France the year 1935 saw the fusion of the working class sports organizations. The Workers Sports and Gymnastics Federation, which at the time when unity was arrived at had only 30,000 members, today has 80,000 members and plays a prominent role in the general sporting life of the country.

The development of sport in France is delayed because of the absence of a sufficient number of sports fields, swimming pools and other sports premises. The buildings and stadiums in existence are in the hands of capitalist owners, who use them for purely commercial purposes. This deprives many working people of sports facilities.

The united Working Class Sports and Gymnastics Federation is energetically striving to improve conditions for the development of sports in France. On the basis of the slogan issued by the Communist Party demanding a "strong, free and happy France," working class sportsmen are demanding that the People's Front government encourage the development of mass sport so as to improve the health of the whole of the French population. Working class sportsmen are supporting the demand of the Communist Party that 1,000,000,000 francs be assigned for the requirements of sport.

The program of measures requiring to be adopted in order to develop sport in France (the building of stadiums, introduction of physical culture and sports in the schools, etc.), and drawn up with the close cooperation of the Workers' Sports and Gymnastics Federation has in the main been accepted by the government; which has already begun to put it into practice. This program of sportsmen's demands has met with a hearty response among the members of non-working class sports organizations and facilitated an increase in the prestige of the Workers' Sports and Gymnastics Federation.

The most progressive of the French working class sportsmen are striving to obtain a rapprochement between their own federation and other sports organizations and its entry into the National Sports Committee, which covers almost the whole of the French sports movement. At the last congress of the federation held in December, 1936, a decision was arrived at, despite the sectarian resistance of a section of the leadership, to join the National Sports Committee and thus get into contact with other sports leagues.

Inside the National Sports Committee it will particularly be possible for the Workers' Sports and Gymnastics Federation to get the democratic elements who support the People's Front to participate in the National Olympiad Committee, which governs the participation of France in international olympiads. Through their collaboration with other sports organizations, the French working class sportsmen will be able to effect a change in the whole sports movement of France in the direction of more energetic support of the People's Front; they will be able to achieve the rallying to-

gether of all progressive, democratic forces in the French sports movement, despite all the efforts of the reactionary upper strata of the various sports organizations.

However, irrespective of all its successes, the Workers' Sports and Gymnastics Federation is still far from covering all the workers who engage in sport. Great possibilities for mass sports work also exist among the united trade unions. Of late the trade unions have begun to set up sports and tourist circles and clubs for workers.

No special working class sports organization exists in the United States of America. But there are sports leagues covering many millions of sportsmen and under bourgeois leadership which have many progressive, democratic elements among their members.

One of the largest and most influential sports organizations in the United States of America is the Amateur Athletic League with 6,000,000 members. In 1936, this league was the initiator of the boycott of the fascist Olympiad. The "Fair Play" Committee, the organization center of the movement to boycott the Berlin Olympiad, embraced all anti-fascist sportsmen. At the head of the committee was the Catholic Democrat, Mahoney, president of the Amateur Athletic League. The movement to boycott the Olympiad assumed wide dimensions in the United States of America, and after the Olympiad, the Amateur Athletic League did not cease its connections with the anti-fascist sportsmen. When the C.I.O. began to set up a network of sports clubs in all the main branches of industry, the Amateur Athletic League agreed to help organize these clubs on condition that they work as its sections. Up to now factory sports clubs and circles have been wholly in hands of the employers and used in their interests. The creation of trade union sports clubs will deprive the employers of an important weapon for influencing the workers and help to unite the forces fighting for the People's Front in the U.S.A.

In England the overwhelming majority of the population are interested in sport. There are over 6,000,000 members of the mass sports leagues; in addition there are many amateur clubs and teams which belong to no league at all. Yet in spite of the fact that the sports movement of England appears to be decentralized, the majority of the different sports unions and clubs are under the direct or indirect influence of the conservative or reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie. The playing fields and stadiums are controlled by owners' associations; the largest sports leagues are under the patronage of prominent aristocrats.

The bourgeoisie of Great Britain strongly cultivates the idea of sport as something neutral, independent of politics. Such viewpoints are also current among the leaders of the Labor Party and trade unions. There are therefore no mass working class sports organization in Great Britain. There are in all only 12,000 members in the British Workers' Sports Federation, approximately one-thousandth part of the total number of people who engage in sport in England.

A sectarian line has up to the present hindered the more revolutionary section of the British worker sportsmen from getting into closer contact with the masses engaging in sport in the so-called bourgeois organizations.

In 1935 an Italian football team, which on leaving Italy was given instructions to win at all costs, visited England. It was a question of the prestige of Italian fascism in England.

Following these instructions, the Italian team time and again broke the rules of the game in order to beat the British team by foul means. These methods of the Italian football players aroused great indignation among British sportsmen. In this particular case, as in many others, the sportsmen who stand for fair play, by force of events, became opponents of fascism. Similar examples can be made good use of to educate sportsmen in the anti-fascist spirit.

In the fascist countries sport is chiefly made use of to draw the working people

of various ages, and more particularly the young people, into the preparations for war. The fascists completely subordinate sport to their imperialist, reactionary and aggressive policy.

In Germany, the fascists, immediately upon their advent to power, crushed the working class sports movement, then gradually abolished the bourgeois-democratic, Catholic and other sports leagues. The old mass sports organizations with their democratic structure proved to be unsuitable for the military aims of fascism. The Hitlerites have preserved only narrow leagues of professional sportsmen out of their own sports organizations, forming teams from among them which they use to send abroad to advertise the sports "achievements" of the Third Empire.

The fascists are finding new forms of drawing the masses into sport directly connected with military training. They carry on sports work in the storm detachments, among the "Hitler Youth," in the mass "Strength in Joy" recreation organization. This organization has considerable means at its disposal; and it attracts the workers by providing them with the opportunity to engage in types of sport which were not open to them previously (tennis and so on); at the same time it trains them for the coming war. Recently the "Strength in Joy" organization has begun organizing sports of a semi-military character for farm laborers as well.

In Germany, when anti-fascists work in the sports organizations they obtain good results. The anti-fascist sportsmen who take part in contests have on several occasions won German national prizes. As recognized champions they have been drawn into the big sports leagues, thus obtaining an opportunity of making contacts and influencing the rank-and-file membership of these leagues. There is a big field of work for anti-fascists in the sports organizations: the working people are dissatisfied because of the rude interference of the fascists in the internal affairs of the sports organizations, they are discontented about the high prices charged for seats at the stadiums, etc. During a certain football match the public howled down Storm Troopers who had been given the best seats. This little example shows how much latent anti-fascist energy is to be found among the working people who go in for sports.

A problem under discussion among the anti-fascist-minded sportsmen of different European countries is whether they should take part in matches and contests against German sportsmen. This question is decided on the merits of each particular case. In some countries sportsmen who were to have met German teams put forward demands that the German team, while abroad refrain from all political demonstrations such as the "Heil Hitler" greeting and the singing of fascist songs. In other cases the sportsmen of non-fascist countries, when they met the Germans, distributed anti-fascist literature among them, informed them of the most important facts of international political life which are concealed from them by the Hitler press. For instance, the sportsmen of Iceland prepared a leaflet describing Iceland for the arrival of a German team and skilfully touched upon several political questions in it. There is no need at all to mention the great interest with which the German guests read this leaflet.

* * *

The tendency displayed by bourgeois governments and government parties to centralize the sports movement, to subordinate it to state control, is to be observed not only in fascist, but also in democratic countries. In England, for example, at the last conference of the Conservative Party the question was raised of organizing physical training for the youth with a view to improving their health. The British government intends to assign considerable sums of money for physical culture measures among the youth, while the capitalist press emphasizes that it is a question of voluntary measures and that there will be no violation of the neutrality of sports in relation to politics.

The question has not yet been decided as to the forms these sports measures will take. However that may be, the anti-fascist sportsmen have big opportunities open before them for mass work. The young people can see to it that their sport is organized on a democratic basis, that they themselves decide the question as to the sort of sport they will engage in, the selection of trainers, etc. Then the necessary conditions will be created for the development of a progressive sports movement in England.

A serious reorganization of the whole of the sports movement is planned in Switzerland. The government is striving to centralize the sports movement for war purposes and, in particular, to cover the whole of the youth in compulsory physical culture training. Bourgeois sports circles are also desirous of uniting the different sports leagues, in order to raise the prestige of Swiss sport on the international arena.

There is a Workers' Sports and Gymnastics League in Switzerland under Social-Democratic influence. This league has a membership of 27,000, including former members of Red sports leagues, both football and gymnastic, which have fused with this Social-Democratic organization. Hitherto the Workers' Sports and Gymnastics League has been very much isolated from all the other sports organizations, which altogether have about 400,000 members. The attitude adopted by the leaders of this league in compelling all its members to belong to a trade union and vote for the Social-Democrats at elections narrowed the base of the workers' sports movement. Now the leaders of this league have introduced a proposal to its congress that the league join the National Physical Training Association, *i.e.*, the organization which is to become the center of the sports movement for the whole of Switzerland.

What should be the attitude of the anti-fascist-minded sportsmen on this question? Should they agree to their league joining the central sports organization, which is under state control, which is in receipt of a government grant, and makes it an obligation on all its members to take part in the defense of the country? There are various opinions on this point among the anti-fascist sportsmen. But the opinion has begun to predominate of late that agreement should be given to joining this central organization. And, indeed, among the masses of the members of the sports organizations under bourgeois leadership there are very strong anti-fascist sentiments. Many bourgeois sportsmen in Switzerland were highly indignant at the way sport was used for the propaganda of fascism during the Berlin Olympiad. If the Workers' Sports and Gymnastics League joins the Physical Training Association, this will rally the democratic, progressive forces in the Swiss sports movement, bring the working class sportsmen out of the isolation they have been in hitherto, and create extensive opportunities for the propaganda of anti-fascist ideas among sportsmen.

* * *

A strong desire for international unity exists among working class sportsmen in all countries. In a number of countries like Spain, France, Norway, England, Belgium, Denmark, Finland and Switzerland, the working class sports movement has already been united on a national scale, and in the majority of these countries the members of the former Red sports unions have agreed, in the interests of unity, to join the leagues affiliated to the Socialist Workers' Sports International (S.A.S.I.). In two countries, France and Norway, the united organizations decided not to affiliate either to the S.A.S.I. or to the Red Sports International (R.S.I.), until both internationals have united. In Czechoslovakia unity has not yet been arrived at on a national scale.

At the initiative of the Red Sports International negotiations have frequently taken place with the leadership of the S.A.S.I., during which proposals for unity have also been made. The leadership of the S.A.S.I., the majority of

which consists of Czech Social-Democrats, have agreed to joint action only on individual issues; for example, they agreed to a joint boycott of the fascist Olympiad. In August of last year, they agreed to set up a Contact Commission together with representatives of the united sports organizations of France and Norway. But actually this Contact Commission has done no work up to the present, neither has it led to any progress in achieving international unity.

A Workers' Sports Olympiad is to take place in Antwerp this summer. All working class sports organizations are preparing to take part in it.

But even when unity of the working class sports movement has been achieved all around, the workers' sports organizations will be far from covering all the workers engaged in the various forms of sport. In a number of countries there are good possibilities for developing sport on a mass scale with the aid of the trade unions. In France and the United States of America the first successful attempts are being undertaken in this direction.

A big role in establishing international unity in the working class and progressive sports movement is being played by Soviet sport. Every time Soviet sportsmen go abroad, each game or contest they undertake against the sportsmen of capitalist countries arouses tremendous interest among all the working people interested in sport, quite irrespective of their political convictions.

After their return home, on the other hand, the Prague football players who visited the U.S.S.R. began to collaborate actively with the anti-fascist sportsmen, and are now in favor of strengthening the links between Czech and Soviet sport. The sportsmen of all countries are impatiently awaiting the performances of Soviet sportsmen at the Antwerp Olympiad; and it can be said in advance that the success of this Olympiad will be assured by the presence of the Soviet sportsmen.

* * *

The many millions of sportsmen in the various countries want peace, and hate fascism; they follow with affection and joy all the victories of the Soviet Union in all walks of life—economic, cultural, sports. Masses of sportsmen are being drawn into the struggle for the People's Front. This urge will become still stronger if all the anti-fascists, and primarily Communists, completely rid themselves of all the remains of their sectarian traditions in relation to sport and, in all their daily work, devote the attention they should to sports questions.

The successes achieved by the working class sports movement in France and Czechoslovakia have been possible, thanks only to the fact that the Communist Parties of these countries have paid great attention to sports questions. In France the problems of the sports movement were specially discussed at the last plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

In the Communist press of a number of countries, there are special sports pages. For example, the sports pages in the British and the American *Daily Worker* are a great success. *L'Humanite* of Paris and the *Rude Pravo* of Prague also carry sports columns, but questions are very little dealt with in the Prague *Rote Fahne* and a number of other Communist papers.

Working sportsmen have a right to expect much from Communist and Social-Democratic deputies and local authorities. In countries where the Communists are able to secure the satisfaction of the demands of sportsmen (the building of stadiums, swimming pools, reduction in entrance fees to stadiums, etc), through the local authorities and parliaments, considerable encouragement is given to the growth of their influence among the masses and the growth of the anti-fascist movement. This is how masses of sportsmen are drawn into the anti-fascist movement on the basis of their own sports interests.

Communists and all anti-fascists must work inside *all* the sports organizations. In the general mass sports organizations,

the anti-fascists should demand the operation of democratic principles, that the sportsmen themselves really manage the sports organizations. In strengthening the workers' sports leagues and striving to bring them close to the mass, so-called bourgeois sports leagues, the anti-fascists should remember that the workers' sports leagues are by no means the only form through which the workers can be drawn into sport. The workers' sports movement can develop quite well in other forms as well, as the experiment of setting up trade union sports clubs in the U.S.A. has shown. In general the specific conditions, habits and traditions of the sports movement of each individual country should be taken as the starting point.

The state of the sports movement and the tasks connected therewith differ in the various countries. But in all countries, work in the ranks of the sports movement, the task of extending and strengthening it, the struggle for the interests of sportsmen and the ideological struggle to ensure that the sports movement be of a democratic and anti-fascist character is an important branch of the mass work of the Communist Parties.

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